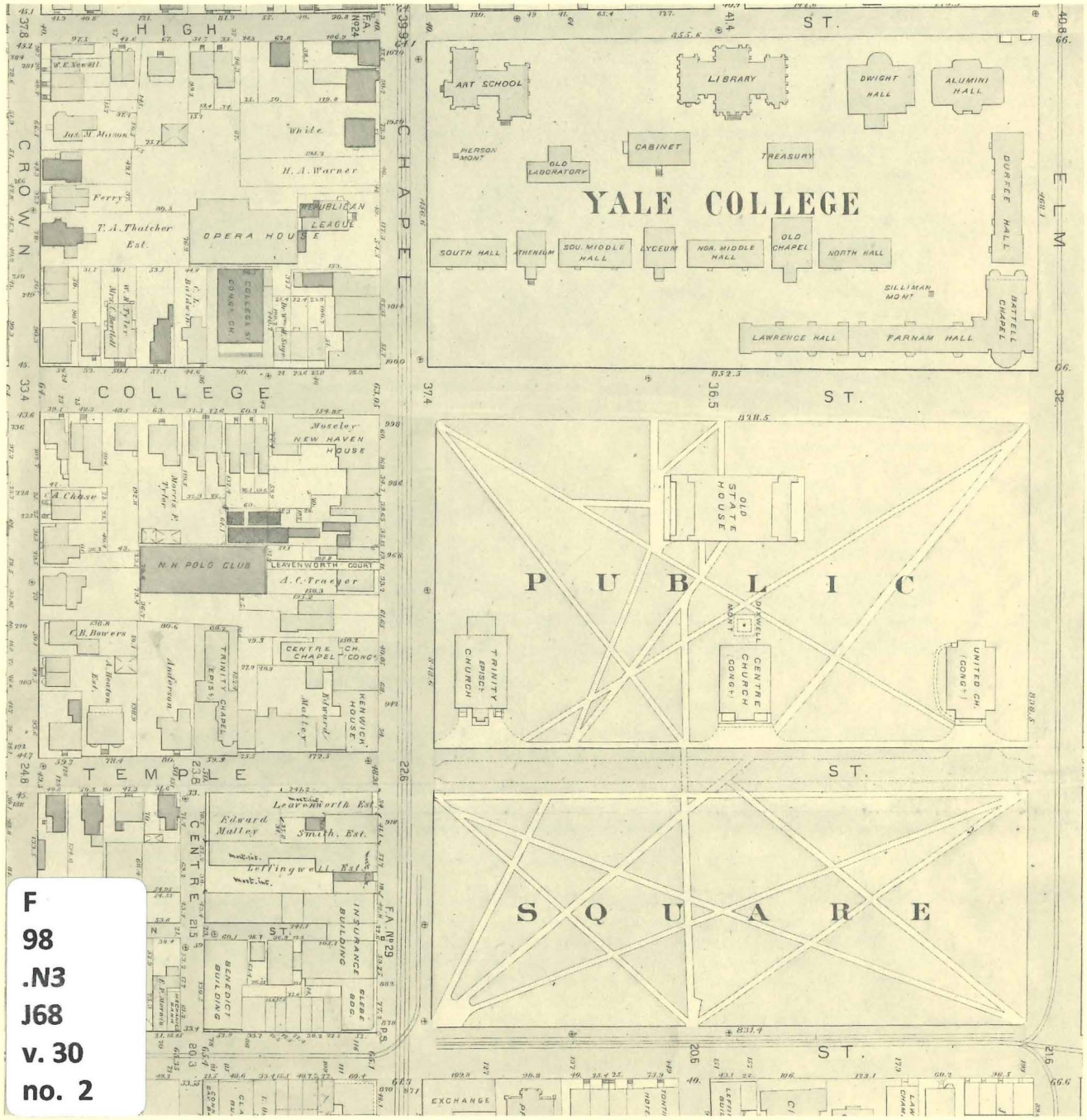
JOURNAL

of The New Haven Colony Historical Society

Shumway and Hegel: NEW HAVEN IN 1884



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"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open to the public. There is a fee of $2 to non-members for use of the library; the museum is open free of charge. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building, the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally about the middle of the eighteenth century, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open to the public during the summer months.

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Illustrations for this issue have been selected by Lucinda V. Burkepile.

Cover: A section of the map published in 1888 by G. M. Hopkins of Philadelphia under the direction of Mayor Henry G. Lewis. Lawrence Hall and what was then Dwight Hall had been erected since 1884.

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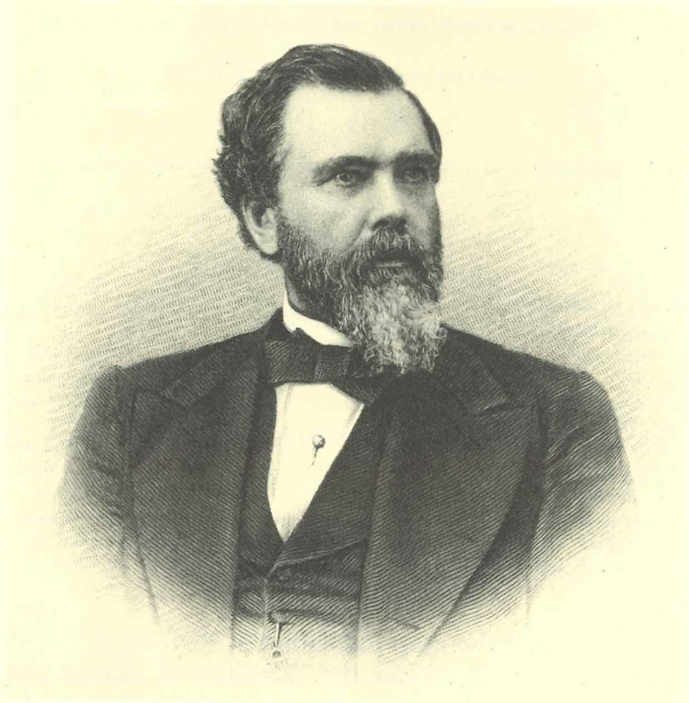


Mayor Henry G. Lewis

New Haven in 1884

by Floyd M. Shumway and Richard Hegel

New Haven in 1884 had a population estimated at somewhere between 75,000 and 78,000, making it by far the largest city in Connecticut and the twenty-sixth in size in the United States. There had been continuous and at times spectacular growth for many decades, the number of inhabitants increasing 400 percent between 1800 and midcentury and then slightly more than doubling again after 1850. The year 1884 witnessed another 2 percent addition to the number of inhabitants and the erection of approximately three hundred fifty new buildings, giving the city a total of over ten thousand structures. There was, of course, much more to New Haven than simply size and continuing expansion. As one contemporary author put it, ''Every surrounding harmonizes with the historical interest, the high culture of its citizens, as well as the commercial prosperity and importance for which New Haven is justly renowned.''[1]

The size and pleasing aspect of the city as well as its wealth and refinement had evolved over two and a half centuries. The Puritan founders provided a handsome and practical ground plan, the famous Nine Squares, with the central one reserved as common land and with a tenth laid-out area running diagonally to the harbor. The original concept served admirably for at least a century, but it did divide the settled section into two distinct halves. Economic activity and much of the town's daily life were concentrated along the harbor and the two creeks that drained into it, while the less-developed region around the central square, originally called the Market Place but ultimately known as the Green, served as the base for institutions such as meetinghouses, the militia company, the town government, and later Yale College. About 1750 increased participation in the shipping trade brought unprecedented prosperity and the first need for physical expansion, which spread eastward from the original settlement along the waterfront. By the time of the American Revolution this new neighborhood had spread inland from the shore, and it had a name: the New Township. There was a second wave of expansion during the years when the Farmington Canal seemed to offer the city an unlimited future, and during this time two satellite towns, Fair Haven and Westville, were started. The canal reality turned out to be a great deal less than the canal dream, but by then New Haven was on its way to becoming a major industrial center. Other satellite clusters were born, and at the same time the old center filled out and grew outward in all directions. The process was still going on in 1884.[2]

A visitor in that year was privileged to see a city much applauded for its beauty and charm. The colonial period seems to have produced little distinguished architecture there, so it did not particularly matter that no more than a half dozen structures survived from those early days. New Haven's reputation was based on its splendid public spaces, its towering elms, and its more recent buildings of Federal, Greek Revival, and Italianate design. Physically the community consisted of a central core, the original Nine Squares, which was surrounded by a ring of nineteenth-century growth with outlying villages beyond that.[3]

Politically the township was divided into fifteen wards, but for our purposes it will be convenient to think of it as nine distinct neighborhoods. The original Nine Squares were logically called the First Ward, and it had by this time become Downtown in an era when much of the vitality of America's cities and most of their civic pride were concentrated in their downtown areas. In addition to functioning as the business center the Nine Squares included the major public buildings, the Yale campus, and many of the homes of the most prosperous families. This, then, was the large and rather complex central core.[4]

The concentric ring surrounding that central core was made up of several contiguous but clearly defined neighborhoods, each with its own characteristics, and these areas can best be identified one by one, starting on the waterfront to the east of the Nine Squares and circling counterclockwise back again to the western side of the harbor. We begin with the New Township, the earliest outgrowth from the central core, which in 1884 embraced the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh wards. The New Township had become a mature community with very mixed land use including considerable manufacturing, and it was perhaps just a bit beyond its prime.

Northward from there was what we shall call the Northern Residential Highlands, made up of everything from Grove Street out to the Hamden town line between State and Prospect streets. It included the Eighth Ward and the eastern part of the Ninth, and although there was an important industrial concentration on and near Audubon Street, it was best known for its residential elegance, particularly on Hillhouse Avenue and Orange Street. It was really an extension of the elite northern third of the Nine Squares, and even then in its relatively undeveloped state the neighborhood could be seen to have a fine future.

Immediately to the west of the Northern Residential Highlands was the rest of the Ninth Ward, made up of the Dixwell Avenue and Newhallville sections, characterized by large factories and the small houses of factory workers.

South and west of Dixwell were the Tenth and Second wards, which were experiencing a period of vigorous growth, most of it in the form of housing for people in comfortable circumstances. These wards corresponded closely to what we would call the Dwight Street and Edgewood Avenue sections today.

Finally, completing the circle back to the harbor, were the Third and Fourth wards, or the Hill and City Point, sections linked geographically but differing somewhat from one another. The Hill featured industry, railroads, and waterfront occupations and considerable housing, much of it congested and of poor quality. City Point's residential streets ranged from the pretentious to the modest, and there was oystering activity down at the point.

Beyond the concentric ring were several satellite villages, originally quite separate from New Haven proper but now becoming connected with the city because of improved transportation and consequent outward expansion. Toward the east were Fair Haven, Fair Haven East, and the East Shore. Fair Haven, then identified as the Eleventh and Twelfth wards, included all the land between the Mill and Quinnipiac rivers, but the small population had originally been spread along the banks of the latter stream, where most of the inhabitants were involved in oystering. Recently the horse-drawn railway on Grand Street, now Grand Avenue, had brought an influx of new residents into the territory just beyond the Mill River. Fair Haven East, beyond the Quinnipiac, was a fashionable exurb. While it was the Fourteenth Ward in the New Haven Township, it was not part of the geographically smaller twelve-ward City of New Haven. Also technically outside of the city was the Fifteenth Ward, or the East Shore, which was then primarily a summer resort.

To the west of New Haven's central core and its concentric ring was Westville, the Thirteenth Ward, a quite self-contained village with some industry. Like Fair Haven East and the East Shore, Westville was part of the township but not of the city, and that was the way its residents wanted it.

The Nine Squares: New Haven's Downtown

The Green, the literal center of the Nine Squares and the symbolic center of the entire city, was noted for its three beautiful churches, which are still there, and its stately elms, which are not. Planted during the final decade of the eighteenth century, the trees achieved their maximum elegance about 1865. Since then they had suffered some damage from canker-worms, but they were still so lovely that people had recently begun referring to New Haven as "The Elm City." Other features of the Green were its stone and wrought iron fence, the town well with its three-handled pump at the corner of Church and Chapel streets, and the Franklin Elm next to it, which had been planted in 1790 to mark the death of Benjamin Franklin. Then, as now, the city's central square was under the control of the Committee of the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands, which in 1884 consisted of James E. English, Dr. Leonard J. Sanford, Thomas R. Trowbridge, and Henry D. White.[5]

On the Green in 1884, the Statehouse designed by Ithiel Town had been used by the state legislature from 1830 until New Haven lost its status as co-capital of Connecticut in 1873. The place no longer had any essential function, but parts of it were occupied by three grateful nonprofit organizations, the Boys' Club, the Connecticut Museum of Art, and the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Town's once-imposing Greek Revival structure had become sadly defaced and dilapidated, and by 1884 it had become popular to make fun of it and advocate its removal. It was in fact pulled down five years later, and we recognize today that this act deprived us of one of our loveliest buildings.[6]

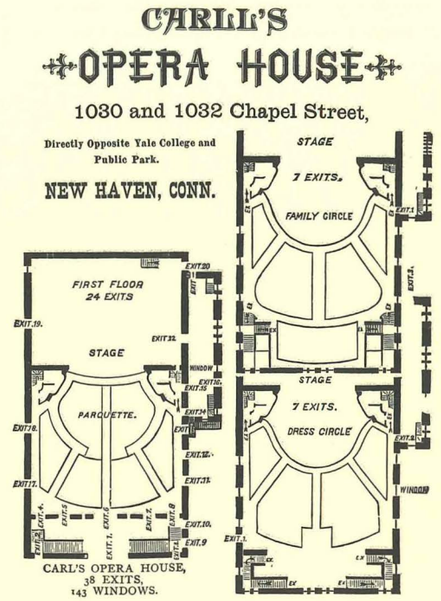
The churches on the Green enjoyed spectacular locations, but there was one disadvantage to being situated on public property, as everybody learned in 1884. All three edifices had originally seemed enormous, but one by one their congregations came to the conclusion that a certain amount of physical expansion was necessary. Trinity Church, erected in 1813 and 1814 to a design by Ithiel Town, had been altered in 1870 and again in 1883, and a year later a large recessed chancel was added in back of the building and some new pews were installed. This change pushed the rear wall westward a number of feet, reducing thereby the number of square feet of publicly owned land on the Green. This apparent theft of a bit of the city's common heritage stirred up a lot of bad feeling by the time Center Church got ready to ask the Common Council for approval to extend its own rear wall.

Nobody had complained in 1842 when Henry Austin remodeled the interior of the 1812-15 building, put up by Ithiel Town using plans by Asher Benjamin, or in 1879 when the crypt was paved, but the 1884 proposal was another matter. The officials of Center Church were ready in August to present their application, but the hostile mood caused them to delay, and they eventually dropped the scheme completely. United Church, whose merger early in the year with the Third Congregational Church had probably created a genuinely urgent need for increased interior facilities, plunged ahead with its project, which like the other two involved pushing David Hoadley's 1812-15 rear wall toward the west. Politicians objected, citizens signed a petition, the *Register* came out in opposition, and late in the year both the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council voted to allow United Church to withdraw its petition, which was a courtly way of telling it to drop dead. That was the end of dreams about putting any more structures on the Green.[7]

The Nine Squares contained thirteen churches, more than could be found in any other neighborhood. Center and United were the most conspicuous Congregational meetinghouses, but there were three others including one on Temple Street between Crown and George for black New Haveners and the Church of the Redeemer, then in David R. Brown's handsome 1870 structure on the southwest corner of Orange and Wall streets, which now houses Trinity Lutheran. There were two Episcopalian churches, St. Thomas's, on the south side of Elm Street between Church and Orange, and Trinity, which in addition to its house of worship on the Green operated a chapel, a parish school, and a home for aged women in adjoining buildings on George Street between College and High. The First Methodist Church was then, as it is now, located in Henry Austin's 1849 edifice on the northeast corner of College and Elm streets, and another Methodist Episcopal parish catered to Germans. The Roman Catholic German community worshipped at St. Boniface, then located on the north side of George Street between College and Temple. What today functions as the Yale Repertory Theater, on the southeast corner of Chapel and York streets, was the Calvary Baptist Church in 1884. Designed by Rufus G. Russell, the building was then thirteen years old. Congregation Mishkan Israel, now in Hamden, was then on Court Street between State and Orange. There was also a Universalist church on Orange Street.[8]

New Haven residents could be proud of the buildings in which their government conducted its business, particularly City Hall, Henry Austin's 1861 High Victorian Gothic masterpiece facing the Green on Church Street, and the New Haven County Court House, designed by David R. Brown and added onto City Hall as an annex in 1871. Both parts of the complex were in the news during 1884. Water damage to the stone veneer of Austin's building had to be repaired, the first important maintenance in twenty-three years, and the mayor's office got a paint touch-up and a new carpet, while an addition was put on the Court House. The Municipal Building, around the corner on Court Street near Church, had since 1874 housed the City Court and the headquarters of the Police and Fire departments and the Board of Health. The Federal Post Office was not far away in a brownstone building just north of Crown Street on the west side of Church.[9]

Stores and offices could be found on a good many blocks, but the greatest concentration was south of Elm Street and east of College Street, and this L-shaped area could properly be defined as the central business district. The Exchange Building, the Street Building, and the Townsend Block, all erected about 1832, popularized the four-story design with retail



operations on the street level and commercial offices upstairs. Thereafter most lawyers, architects, business headquarters, and banks were packed into the densely utilized downtown section, as were the principal shops, such as John E. Bassett & Co., hardware, and S.H. Kirby, jewelry. There were also a few factories, including the New Haven Rattan Co., which made chairs, C. Cowles & Co. and English & Mersick, both builders of carriage hardware, and the plant where Lewis Osterweis turned out cigars.[10]

Educational institutions, service organizations, and clubs were scattered more generally throughout the Nine Squares. Hillhouse High School, founded in 1869, was housed in a building put up in 1871 on the northeast corner of Orange and Wall streets. Hopkins Grammar School was four blocks west of there on the southeast corner of Wall and High. The Young Men's Institute was located at 847 Chapel Street between Orange and Church, and the YMCA rented rooms in the same block at number 841. The Yale University Club was further west on Chapel at number 986 between Temple and College.[11]

New Haven had four theaters, three of them located in the Nine Squares and the other a block away down Chapel Street on the edge of the New Township, so theatergoing, what there was of it, was a downtown activity. Only twelve shows appear to have come through New Haven during the year, presenting a total of but eighteen performances, four in March and the rest between September and December. All but one of the plays were given at Carll's Opera House (later called the Hyperion), built in 1880 on Chapel Street on the block between College and High, and at the New Haven Opera House on Chapel between Olive

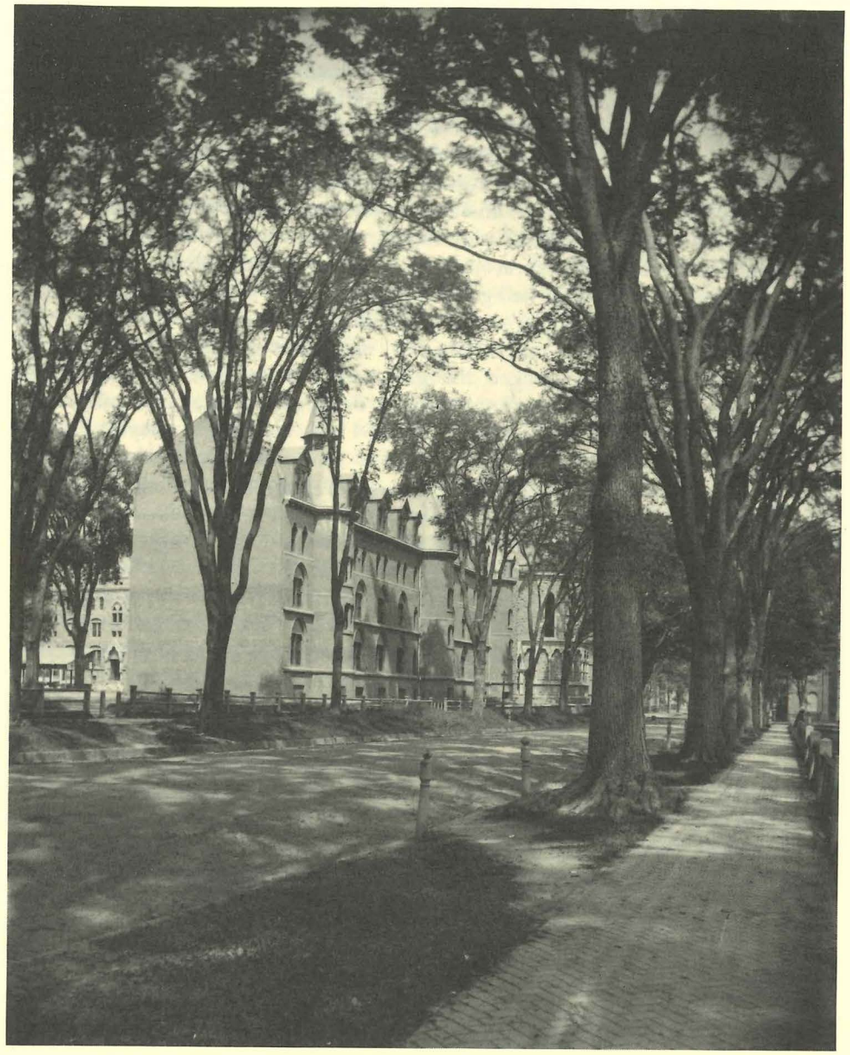
and Union. Only two of these dramas are remembered today, ''Uncle Tom's Cabin'' and ''Monte Cristo,'' the latter starring James O'Neill, the father of playwright Eugene O'Neill, but a city as starved for theater as New Haven may have been delighted by some of the other productions. ''The Baker's Daughter'' included characters named Cemetery Green, described as an excuse for a husband, and a villain named Hairoil Rottenpledge. The audience on October 23 at ''Alvin Joslin,'' a play about an old New England farmer who goes to New York City to see the sights, had the breathtaking experience of viewing $100,000 worth of diamonds worn by members of the company in the last act.[12]

Serious drama may have been scarce, but there were almost continuous variety shows at the American Theater on Church Street between George and Crown and the Grand Opera House (also called Peck's Opera House) on Crown between Church and Temple. During the year an impresario named George B. Bunnell breezed into town and started what he called Bunnell's Museum at the same address as the Grand Opera House. Whether he leased part of the building from Clark Peck or took turns using the main auditorium is not clear, but in any event he was able to call Bunnell's Museum ''The Family Amusement Resort of New Haven.'' He advertised that his presentation included ''living wonders and mechanical marvels, curious creatures from every clime, giants, midgets, skeletons, and fat people.'' There were two performances a day, and the admission fee was twenty cents.[13]

There were twenty-eight hotels in New Haven, of which only eight were located in the Nine Squares. A half dozen of these, however, were among the eight local establishments considered of major importance, so that not surprisingly the downtown area dominated the innkeeping field. The New Haven House, built in 1850 where the Taft now stands, was the biggest, with two hundred rooms, and was generally considered the best. Its energetic proprietor, Seth H. Moseley, also ran the restaurant at the railroad station. The sixty-year-old Tontine Hotel, with eighty rooms, remained very popular in spite of its age. It was on Church Street facing the Green on the spot presently occupied by the old Post Office. The Tremont House, built in 1861 on the northwest corner of Orange and Court, had sixty-five rooms which seem to have been favored by traveling businessmen. The twenty-five-room Grand Union Hotel and the thirty-one-room Kenwick House were both almost brand new, and their locations on Chapel Street put them in competition with the New Haven House for Yale-connected patronage. Seldon House on State Street near Elm was conveniently situated on the border between the Nine Squares and the New Township.[14]

Restaurants and saloons were numerous in the downtown area. One popular with Yale students was operated by Jane Moriarty, the widow of Frank Moriarty, at 151 Temple Street between Crown and Chapel. The dear old Temple Bar later moved to York Street and became Mory's.[15]

Boardinghouses have just about disappeared from the yellow pages of today's telephone directories, but in 1884 they were very much a part of American life, providing simplified living for couples as well as single men and women and for prosperous as well as needy people. There were fifty-one boardinghouses in New Haven, nine of them in the Nine Squares. Thorstein Veblen boarded on York Street while finishing up the work that earned him a Ph.D. from Yale in 1884, and some of his bitter reaction to life in that elegant neighborhood may have gone into *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* published fifteen years later. This famous book can be found in Sterling Memorial Library, which, perhaps ironically,



The partially completed Yale College quadrangle.

occupies the land on which Veblen's temporary New Haven abode once stood.[16]

Yale, which had become in fact a university but which was still a few years away from officially declaring itself one, had approximately a thousand students including candidates for advanced degrees as well as undergraduates. After slightly more than a century and a half it had completely filled the block directly west of the Green and had begun to spread out into adjacent territory. What we today call the Old Campus looked vastly different from what it does now, because it was in a transitional phase. The original buildings stretched out in a line parallel to College Street, and a few later ones behind them toward High Street had all begun to age badly. Yale planned to replace all or most of them with an almost continuous border of new construction around the perimeter of the block, creating a vast interior courtyard. But only five units had gone up so far: Dwight Hall (then used as the library), Street Hall (called the Art School), Farnam and Durfee halls, and Battel Chapel. The program was eventually completed, and all the early structures except Connecticut Hall were removed, but in 1884 the campus looked disorganized and incomplete, and only a thoughtful observer could have visualized the comprehensive design which was gradually emerging.[17]

A number of important Yale buildings had by 1884 been constructed beyond the confines of the traditional campus. The Gymnasium and the just-completed Sloane Physical Laboratory were on Library Street, which has since been closed to traffic and renamed Library Walk. The Medical School was beyond them on York Street near Crown. The Peabody Museum of Natural History was on the corner of Elm and High streets, and the Divinity School was down Elm at the corner of College Street, where Calhoun College can be found today. Sheffield Hall occupied the very visible site on the northeast corner of Prospect and Grove streets, where Strathcona Hall stands now. Wolf's Head Society, founded in 1883, employed the distinguished New York firm of McKim, Mead & White to design a clubhouse, or so-called tomb, and it was built in 1884 up the street from Sheffield at 77 Prospect. Two other secret societies had built tombs earlier, Skull and Bones in 1856 and Scroll and Key in 1869.[18]

Four buildings have been erected since 1884 in memory of men who were active at Yale in one way or another during that year. Lawrence Hall was built in 1885 and 1886 with a gift from the mother of Thomas G. Lawrence, '84, who died during his senior year. Wright Hall (1912) honors Henry Parks Wright, who in 1884 became Yale College's first dean. McClellan Hall (1925) was a gift from the widow of Edwin McClellan, '84. Funds provided by the widow of Ray Tompkins, '84, made possible the 1932 Field House that bears his name.[19]

All of the Nine Squares' institutional and commercial activities still left enough room so that over 4,500 people were able to live there, most of them very comfortably. So impressive was the massing of mansions along Elm Street that for a generation it had been known as Quality Row, but there were other fine homes on other streets, the greatest concentration of them being to the north of the Green. There was at least one apartment house, Kensington Flat, built about 1875 on Orange Street near Wall.[20]

The New Township: Trouble Ahead

After 1750 prosperity based on shipping created an eastward push from the originally settled part of the town along the waterfront and behind it, and by 1775 the New Township

had become New Haven's first clearly defined neighborhood contiguous to the Nine Squares. During the nineteenth century the area burgeoned into the city's most populous quarter, supported by a spectacular amount of shipping and industrial activity and filled with housing for all income levels. The first fine homes were built along the waterfront by pre-Revolutionary shipping merchants, but after Wooster Square was laid out in 1825 the economic elite gravitated inland to Chapel Street and the blocks on and near the square itself, while poorer families, many of them factory workers, filled the less elegant side streets. The years between 1835 and 1865 have been described as the New Township's golden age. By 1884 at least 17,000 people were living there. There had so far been no visible sign of decay, but some disturbing trends were becoming evident. There was still a certain amount of local construction, but real growth had stopped as New Haven's expansion was taking place toward the west rather than in this section, and new industry was tending to settle elsewhere. Meanwhile increasing numbers of immigrants were settling in the New Township, and fairly abruptly during the 1890s the people of means moved out, turning the neighborhood into New Haven's Little Italy.[21]

The New Township naturally consisted of more than just houses and factories. Of the then-existing houses of worship only St. Paul's Episcopal Church on Chapel Street at Olive has remained in the hands of its original congregation ever since 1884. Reflecting changes in the composition of the community, two churches then owned by Protestant sects are now Roman Catholic, the First Baptist Church on Wooster Square being now St. Michael's, while Davenport Congregational around the corner on Greene Street has become St. Casimir's. There were also Methodist, German Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Jewish congregations which no longer exist. In addition to St. Paul's there were two other important buildings on or near the intersection of Chapel and Olive streets, Elliott House, one of the city's eight most important hotels, and the previously mentioned New Haven Opera House, then only seven years old. There were also eleven lesser hotels and thirty-two boardinghouses. As there were only twenty-eight hotels and fifty-one boardinghouses in all of New Haven, the New Township was clearly where most people went to find temporary lodgings or semipermanent habitations offering freedom from domestic responsibility.[22]

Several private institutions and welfare organizations had their headquarters in the New Township. A Masonic Lodge was on the southeast corner of Chapel and Union streets, and the Salvation Army Barracks were half a block up Union toward Court Street. The Collegiate and Commercial Institute and the Young Women's Christian Association were on Wooster Square, and the Homeopathic Dispensary was a block to the south at 200 Wooster Street. The New Haven Yacht Club and the Ladies' Seaman's Friend Society were on Water Street at Chestnut and on Franklin Street, respectively.[23]

The real estate on and around Wooster Square was too expensive for industrial use, so factories were for the most part on or west of Olive Street and on or east of Chestnut Street. Mayer, Strouse & Co., the corset manufacturer, was at 41 Court Street, but most of the bigger plants were located toward the east. A very partial list gives some idea of the New Township's importance as a manufacturing center and of the variety of products made there. On Chestnut Street: The Henry Killam Co., carriages, and B. Shoninger Organ Co. On Franklin Street: Dann Bros. & Co., carriage bodies. On Hamilton Street: New Haven Clock Co. Between Hamilton and Wallace along Water Street: Sargent & Co., hardware. On Wallace

Street at Chapel: New Haven Brewing Co. On East Street: Boston Buckboard Co., carriages; L. Candee & Co., rubber boots and shoes; and New Haven Gas Light Co. The shipping activity, of course, centered on Long Wharf.[24]

The Northern Residential Highlands: Future Expansion Zone

The area directly north of the Nine Squares was a less coherent entity than most of the other neighborhoods, consisting in fact of five contiguous but fairly disparate parts, three of them residential, one industrial, and the other largely undeveloped. It is convenient for our purposes, however, to treat the area as a single community, since it was quite separate from and unlike any of the neighborhoods on which it abutted and because it has become in our century one of New Haven's major residential zones. In 1884 it was unevenly and thinly populated, and there could not have been many more than 4,500 people living there in the Eighth Ward and the eastern part of the Ninth.[25]

Charles Dickens, who found fault with most of what he saw in this country, is said to have called Hillhouse Avenue the most beautiful street in America, and other writers spoke of its aristocratic quality and "wide borders of smooth lawn, magnificent arched elms, and many elegant mansions." The street had been laid out and then carefully nurtured all through the nineteenth century by the Hillhouse family, which gradually sold off parts of its property north of Grove Street to the sort of people who would put up fine habitations and fit in comfortably with their neighbors, who combined wealth with taste and many of whom taught at Yale or had other close associations with the college. Sachem's Wood, the Hillhouse estate which faced the north end of the avenue, set the tone for all the other houses, many of which were designed by such distinguished architects as Alexander Jackson Davis, Ithiel Town, Henry Austin, Sidney Mason Stone, and Russell Sturgis. Construction proceeded at a sedate pace, with buildings going up at an average rate of two per decade between around 1807 and 1884, when the last two were completed. The Hillhouse Quarter also included Trumbull and Sachem streets, which bisected the avenue, and lower Whitney Avenue and Prospect Street, which were a block away. None of them could match the grandeur of Hillhouse Avenue, but all contained medium-sized and large houses of good quality.[26]

Prospect Hill north of Sachem's Wood between Whitney Avenue and Prospect Street was mostly open country. Several mansions had been erected on Prospect, and there were some country estates further out of town, but no more than a couple of dozen families owned homes in the whole area. Also located there were the Yale Observatory, St. Francis Orphan Asylum, whose large tract was spread out along the north side of Highland Street, the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, established in 1877 and occupying a building completed in 1882, and the reservoir which supplied the city's water.[27]

The Orange Street Axis may be defined as the area bounded by Audubon, State, and Humphrey streets and Whitney Avenue. Orange Street and the blocks adjacent to it began to develop about 1790, and in the nineteenth century they formed a satellite neighborhood projecting north from the Nine Squares. In 1884 Orange Street was known for its large, handsome homes, and it also had some well-designed row houses. Residences on the side streets, particularly those located toward State Street, were much smaller. That road was devoid of structures as late as 1824 except for a single farmhouse, but about a decade later

lots began to become available, and working-class families settled there, attracted by the short walk to factory jobs both to the south and over in the New Township. Railroad construction in 1847 generated some commercial growth, and by the time of the Civil War State Street had become a crowded and noisy thoroughfare out as far as Humphrey Street.[28]

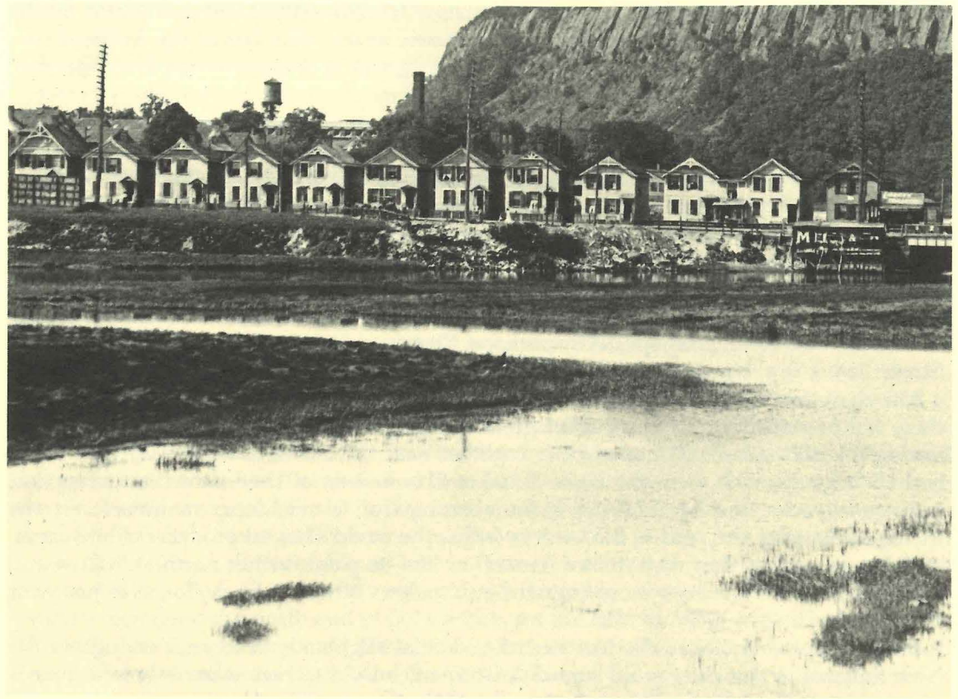
Retail stores and low-income housing continued to push up State Street until by 1884 they reached all the way to Mill River. The eastern half of the northeastern corner of the Northern Residential Highlands was also largely filled with homes of the same character. So many local Irish families kept goats and allowed them to wander that by 1890 the section was to become known as Goatville. A greater menace was an eccentric named Milton J. Stewart, who built a dozen identical houses on the west side of State Street near the river between 1881 and 1884. He allowed them to deteriorate so promptly that everybody soon began calling them the Dirty Dozen, and as early as August 1884, the fire marshal was questioning their safety and conducting special inspections. There was little construction west of Orange Street: just a few big country homes and occasional clusters of cottages.[29]

Although the Northern Residential Highlands consisted primarily of clusters of homes, there was one industrial complex which grew up along the Farmington Canal and continued during the railroad era. Grouped close together near the intersection of Audubon Street and Whitney Avenue were the Blake Crusher Co., makers of the famous machines that pulverized rocks, the New Haven Manufacturing Co., a machinery manufacturer, the McLagon Foundry Co., and A. B. Hendryx & Co., the world's largest producer of bird cages. Another important firm, Marlin Fire Arms Co., had its plant further north at Willow and Nicoll streets, and an even more eminent gun maker, Whitney Arms Co., was just over the Hamden line in Whitneyville.[30]

Because most families in the Northern Residential Highlands lived near enough to the Nine Squares so that they could attend downtown churches, there were only four houses of worship north of Grove Street. Back in the 1850s Leverett Candee, the rubber manufacturer, had put up the money for a modest Episcopalian church on the northeast corner of State and Eld streets to which in all probability some of his employees belonged, and there was a Swedish Lutheran church, also unpretentious, a half block from State Street on Humphrey. Further west on that same street, just one door from fashionable Orange Street, stood the Humphrey Street Congregational Church, which is owned today by Seventh-Day Adventists. St. Mary's, built by New Haven's earliest Catholic parish, was and still is near the south end of Hillhouse Avenue, a street on which few if any homeowners of that religious persuasion then lived. The Rev. M. J. McGivney, its assistant pastor and recent founder of the Knights of Columbus, preached his last sermon there in November of 1884 before leaving to become the pastor in Thomaston.[31]

Dixwell Avenue and Newhallville: The Industrial Lowlands

The Northern Industrial Lowlands are here defined as that part of the Ninth Ward which lay to the west of Prospect Street. The southern border ran along Broadway and thence northwest up Goffe Street to Crescent Street. The irregular western border was in general about a block to the west of Dixwell Avenue, and the Hamden town line marked the north-



Stewart's Dirty Dozen.

ern border. Practically nobody lived on the sloping eastern fringe, but the flat plain west of it was filled with factories and 5,000 or so residents, a great many of whom derived their livelihood from industrial labor. This was a much more cohesive neighborhood than the one we have just described, there being only two quite similar subsections within it, Dixwell and Newhallville.[32]

Lying to the south of Munson Street, Dixwell had started as a working-class area, had grown considerably during the middle of the nineteenth century, and by 1884 was congested and dingy except for Broadway at the southern tip, which was a pleasant mixture of shops and residences wrapped around two small parks. The Winchester Repeating Arms Co. at Munson and Canal streets was by far the largest employer, but there were other important firms such as the New Haven Wheel Co. at York and Ashmun streets, the New Haven Car Trimming Co., which made trimmings for carriages, and the Brockett & Tuttle Co., which made carriages, the latter two located on Goffe Street. Much of New Haven's small black population lived in Dixwell. [33]

Newhallville, located north of Munson Street, got its start early in the nineteenth century when the Farmington Canal was under construction, and the first settlers included many German and Irish immigrants. George T. Newhall's carriage factory became the dominant source of employment by midcentury and gave the section a name, but by 1884 he had closed down his operation and reopened on a smaller scale in another area.[34]

The Dixwell and Newhallville neighborhood contained two hotels of secondary importance and three boardinghouses. There were two Congregational churches, one of which had a black membership, and three Methodist churches, at least two of which served blacks. The Grove Street Cemetery, incorporated in 1797, was technically in the neighborhood, but all of its associations were with more established and affluent parts of the city. The imposing gate designed by Henry Austin was built in 1845, and the chapel was erected in 1872.[35]

Dwight and Edgewood: A Period of Growth

For our purposes the Dwight and Edgewood neighborhood is considered to be the Tenth and Second wards as they existed in 1884. The eastern boundary therefore ran along York Street from Broadway down to Davenport Avenue and thence down Davenport to the West River. That meandering stream constituted the western border. The northern boundary started where the river met Fountain Street, proceeded straight east to Crescent Street, thence down Crescent to Goffe Street, and along Goffe and Broadway back to York Street. The territory thus defined will not seem to everybody to be exactly equivalent to today's Dwight and Edgewood, but any division of the city into wards, including the one in effect in 1884, is bound to be arbitrary, and it will be practical to accept the Tenth and Second wards as representing Dwight and Edgewood even if their boundaries appear in spots to wander slightly.

Growth in the New Township had stopped, and now New Haven was expanding toward the west. The population of Dwight and Edgewood had passed 10,000 and was destined to keep increasing, because as yet only the eastern half of the area was filled with homes and other structures. Most of the housing was fairly new and of good quality, and there were mansions in the latest style, particularly on and near Chapel Street. There was some industry, such as the Strong Fire Arms Co., G. T. Newhall Carriage Co. (formerly in

Newhallville), and another carriage maker, Morris Isbell's Sons. The large contracting firm of C. W. Blakeslee & Sons had its headquarters on George Street between Day and Elliott streets. The County Jail, the New Haven Orphan Asylum, the Almshouse, and Hamilton Park all occupied large tracts, as did three cemeteries, Evergreen, Westville, and Congregation Mishkan Israel's burial ground.[36]

Dwight and Edgewood may have been filled with a variety of industrial, commercial, and institutional activities, but it was more than anything else a stable residential area, evidence of which is that it had nine churches but no hotels or boardinghouses. There were three Episcopalian places of worship, two Methodist, one of which had a black congregation, and one each Congregational, Baptist, Second Advent, and Catholic. Three of these parishes are still intact a century later: Christ Church (Episcopal), Bethel African Methodist Episcopal, and Immanuel Baptist.[37]

The Hill and City Point: A Varied Neighborhood

The Third and Fourth wards contained the Hill and City Point, then generally known as Oyster Point. The eastern boundary ran from the intersection of State and George streets down State and straight on to the waterfront, then down the west shore of the harbor to the point. The boundary then ran from the point northwest along the shore and up the West River to the place where Columbus, Congress, and Davenport avenues converged on its west bank. The line ran from there northeast along Davenport to York Street and up York to George Street. The northern border ran across the southern edge of the Nine Squares from George back to the intersection of State and George streets. The population of this area was then approximately 14,000.[38]

Everybody would agree that the territory described above contained the places called the Hill and City (or Oyster) Point, but there was then and there continues to be some uncertainty about where one ends and the other begins. The problem is that the section south of George Street became recognized as an area of poverty and crime as early as 1800 and was given the nickname Sodom Hill, later shortened to the Hill. Thus from an early date the place and its very name had unfavorable connotations, and as this slum area expanded over the years toward the south and southwest, there was a tendency for the term of disrespect, the Hill, to be applied to whatever land was at any one time covered by contiguous run-down, low-income housing. A modern-day author reports that some people today consider everything north of Interstate I-95 to belong to the Hill, which would reduce City Point to a couple of blocks of waterfront.[39]

For the purposes of the present analysis we shall divide the entire section into two parts, agreeing that some of the northern part was then the Hill—with all that the name implied—and that some was not. This upper district, with docks and later the railroad yards on its eastern perimeter, developed as a working-class quarter, and immigrants coming into New Haven tended to settle there, the Irish after 1825 and German Lutherans, Catholics, and Jews in the 1840s. These groups prospered and after the Civil War began to move outward from what was originally called the Hill into better homes in surrounding areas. They were replaced by Italians, while Jews from Eastern Europe settled on and around Oak Street. There was considerable construction after 1865, and by 1884 much of the land had been built on, and even toward the southwest there was scattered housing. Trowbridge Square,

Workers outside the Mansfield Elastic Frog Co. factory.

a reduced-scale version of the Nine Squares, contained particularly attractive small homes which had been built little by little since the 1850s.[40]

The upper district offered employment opportunities in railroading and dock work and in commercial houses and factories which manufactured, among other things, railroad equipment, rubber goods, cigars, and beer. There were two hotels, including the important Converse near the railroad station, which had 112 rooms, and there were four boardinghouses. This section also contained New Haven Hospital, the Connecticut National Guard Armory on Meadow Street, and St. Barnard's Cemetery south of Columbus Avenue near the river, the first Roman Catholic cemetery in the city. Welch Training School on Congress Avenue at Ward Street, described as the most ambitious school building outside of Hillhouse High that New Haven had yet erected, was opened for public inspection on February 29, 1884. There were five churches serving Congregationalists, Methodists, German Baptists, Universalists, and Catholics. The last one, Sacred Heart, is still in existence today.[41]

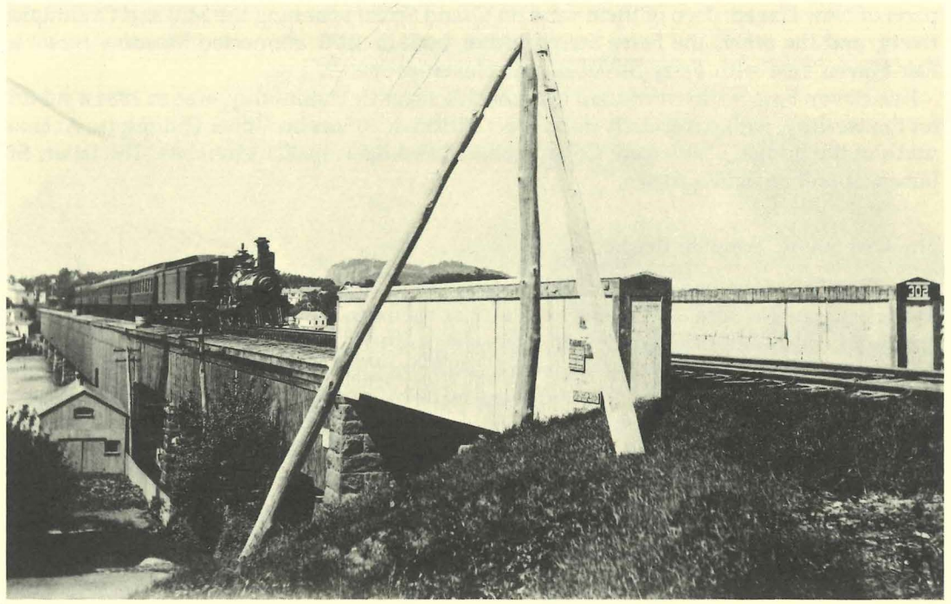
There was some fishing activity off the point on the west shore of the harbor in the 1700s, and during the nineteenth century an oystering hamlet grew up along South Water Street. It was never as large as the rival village in Fair Haven, but it shared in the same expanding activity. Oyster (now City) Point long remained isolated from the rest of New Haven, but horse-drawn streetcars in the 1860s began to attract prosperous newcomers to Howard Avenue, which by 1884 had become a very fashionable street. The neighborhood had its own Howard Avenue Methodist Church, which is still there today but under other ownership.[42]

Fair Haven: Satellite on the East

Having described all of the big neighborhoods comprising the ring of nineteenth-century growth around the original central core, we turn now to the satellite villages. Fair Haven was one of these distant zones, situated east of the New Township and across the Mill River from it. Fair Haven proper, consisting of the Eleventh and Twelfth wards, was bounded on its east by the Quinnipiac River. Fair Haven East, the Fourteenth Ward, lay along the eastern shore of the latter stream. The two parts of Fair Haven, so closely identified with one another that they are considered here as a single neighborhood, had a population somewhat in excess of 8,500. Both parts were relative newcomers to New Haven. Fair Haven had been made part of the city in 1870 by a legislative act, while Fair Haven East remained part of East Haven until 1881. That year it was annexed as part of the Township of New Haven, but it still remained outside of the city.[43]

In 1791 a bridge was built across the Quinnipiac River at Grand Street (now Grand Avenue), and soon oyster fishermen began settling along Front Street in two-story houses on raised cellars with doorways on the lowest level wide enough so that wheelbarrows filled with oysters could be rolled through them. Known originally as Dragon, the village was renamed Fair Haven, and by the middle of the nineteenth century only Baltimore outranked it as an oystering center. It remained such a picturesque little community that people used to come out from the city to see it in warm weather, and the newspaper reported in midsummer of 1884 that Aunt Rhodie's ice cream parlor was doing a very brisk business.[44]

Meanwhile horse-drawn railway service introduced in 1861 opened up the hitherto vacant western half of the land between the rivers, and it blossomed into a streetcar suburb, attracting people from the New Township, particularly upward-mobile Irish families. This new zone of development kept pushing toward the original village of Fair Haven until the two areas met and merged in the 1880s at about Ferry Street. The merger could not have been far off in 1884, because fourteen houses were under construction near there in July of that year.[45]



The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad's Quinnipiac River bridge.

The merged or nearly merged halves of Fair Haven between the rivers had quite a variety of facilities. It was more than anything else a residential area, with everything from simple cottages to the fashionable homes around Lombard Street between Blatchley Avenue and Ferry Street. There were also shops, two boardinghouses, and a small hotel which took boarders as well as overnight guests. There were manufacturing firms along River Street: The Bigelow Co., maker of boilers, National Pipe Bending Co., and Holcomb Bros. & Co., whose specialty was carriage woodwork. There were five churches for Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Catholics. Two of these churches, East Pearl Street Methodist and St. Francis, are still there. There was a Congregational cemetery and a Home for the Friendless. The Yale Boat House stood near the Chapel Street Bridge over the Mill River. Three other important bridges connected the Fair Haven area with the more central

parts of New Haven. Two of them were on Grand Street spanning the Mill and Quinnipiac rivers, and the other, the Ferry Street Bridge, built in 1876, connected Meadow Street in Fair Haven East with Ferry Street in Fair Haven proper.[46]

Fair Haven East, which remained very much a separate community, was in 1884 a suburb for the wealthy, with particularly impressive Victorian houses on Upper Quinnipiac Avenue north of the bridge. There were Congregational and Episcopalian churches. The latter, St. James, is still an active parish.[47]

The East Shore: Satellite Resort

The East Shore lay to the south of Fair Haven East, the dividing line being Meadow Street, and it embraced all the land along the shore of the harbor down to Lighthouse Point. It, too, had belonged to East Haven and was now part of New Haven's township but not of the city. Population figures have not been located, but it is clear that not many people lived there and that most of those who did were in residence only during the warm months.

The first white inhabitants of Morris Cove were farmers who owned what were by local standards large properties. The section changed rapidly during the 1870s into a summer resort colony with two hotels and many Victorian homes crowded together along the waterfront and near it. The *New Haven Register* described Morris Cove in 1884 as being both quiet and aristocratic and reported that on the evening of August 9 all the cottages from the bluff to the Forbes House, one of the hotels, were decorated with Chinese lanterns. It was, said the newspaper, a magnificent spectacle, adding that ''this charming resort has never seen livelier days.'' This fashionable settlement had by then spread northward to some extent into the later-blooming Annex, which is the part of the East Shore north of Morris Cove.[48]

Some notable homes and other landmarks graced the East Shore. Tomlinson's Bridge had been completed in 1798, connecting the northern end of the area with the New Township. Raynham, a fine home handsomely situated on a large country estate, was built in 1804 by the Townshends, who still own it. Originally of Federal design, it was altered in 1856 in the then-current Victorian style. The bluff at the northern end of Morris Cove has had a succession of forts on it, the most recent one during the Civil War. That structure was abandoned and in disrepair in 1884, but it has in recent years been rebuilt and made available to the public by Fort Nathan Hale Restoration Projects. One of the oldest surviving houses in New Haven and historically and architecturally one of the most important is the Pardee-Morris House, erected by the Morris family late in the colonial period. Burned by the British in 1779, it was rebuilt promptly and remained in the possession of the Morrises until 1915. It was purchased that year by William Scranton Pardee, who left it in 1918 to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, which has maintained it since then, opening it to the public every summer. The Federal Government purchased an acre on the southern tip of the East Shore in 1804 and put up a wooden lighthouse, which was replaced in 1840 by an eighty-foot octagonal sandstone tower. The latter structure is still there, but it was taken out of operation in 1877. By that time the land on which it stood was known as Lighthouse Point.[49]

Westville: Satellite on the West

An 1884 newspaper reference to ''West Haven, Westville, and some of the other Suburbs''

Rural Westville.

emphasizes the extent to which Westville, the Thirteenth Ward, then remained separate and remote. It had been taken into the Township of New Haven in 1868, but it was not yet part of the city, and it was not until well into the twentieth century that Westville residents began to feel like New Haveners. There were few more than 1,500 of them in 1884, when the place consisted of homes, a small hotel, the Diamond Match Co., the New Haven Nut Co., and four churches serving Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Catholics. The edifice then used by the Congregationalists still stands, but it is now a Methodist church. Although still small, Westville had been growing rapidly for about a decade.[50]

No neighborhood was so much under the good influence of one man as was Westville. Donald Grant Mitchell, an able landscape architect and later a successful author writing under the pseudonym Ik Marvel, moved there from New York City after conducting an intensive search for a large and picturesque farm located within three hours of the New York metropolitan area. He beautified the 360 acres which he purchased for $16,000 in 1858, named the estate Edgewood, and helped design the house that he built on it about 1870. He took a very active part in Westville's economic and landscaping development, and his good citizenship was not confined to his own immediate section, because he played critically important roles in the creation of Edgewood Park and in the design of East Rock Park.[51]

Economic New Haven

Americans had lived through good times and bad during the past generation. Industry and internal trade had grown, and railroads had expanded greatly. There had been a marked concentration of economic power in the hands of a relative few, and pools, trusts, and holding companies had proliferated. Connecticut's manufacturing cities had done remarkably well during the Civil War, and there was a boom here all through the 1860s. The panic of 1873 did great damage everywhere, and conditions had never been really satisfactory since then. A relative recovery between 1878 and 1882 and another bad interval from 1883 until 1885 were actually only short-term fluctuations in a long-wave bad period marked by gradually declining prices. In 1884, therefore, the nation and the state were experiencing a brief recession within a protracted depression. Conditions were not at all good.[52]

Considering the general situation, New Haven was in relatively good shape. The city's unusual economic strength was attributable to several factors. There were a good many medium-sized manufacturing plants and a few very big ones, representing such a diversity of products that the city as a whole was not hurt by cyclical swings in particular industries. The harbor was active, and a network of small railroads had been consolidated into the important New York, New Haven & Hartford with its headquarters in New Haven. The world's first telephone exchange had been put into service here, and that had led to the establishment of the Southern New England Telephone Co. Yale College was in a period of physical expansion. The city had well-run banks, and conservative local investors tended to buy stock in local corporations. New Haven was recognized as one of the richest cities in the country in proportion to its population, and it was believed that in no city of the same or greater size was wealth more evenly distributed.[53]

These considerable strengths helped New Haven but could not shield it completely from the effects of a nationwide depression. The machine business was described as being "cursed dull," and there was unemployment. More property was for rent in 1884 than in 1883 and

at generally reduced rates, and that slowed down the building trades. On December 1 the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad cut the wages of hundreds of laborers, carpenters, and machine shop workers. The truant officer found 215 children in need of clothing during the year, and it was observed that some people were wearing cheaper hats than they customarily did. Poor New Haveners had trouble paying their bills during the week before Christmas, and some grocers resorted to price-cutting in order to sell goods.[54]

New Haven was first and foremost a manufacturing city, and about half of its twenty-five thousand or so workers were employed in over two hundred factories. The city had ranked twenty-ninth in the United States in 1880 in the value of manufactured goods, and even in a difficult decade there was continuing growth. Not everybody appears to have liked all this dynamic industrialization, because an irate letter to the editor of the *New Haven Register* complained about the useless blowing of factory whistles and the thick, black smoke spewing out of factory chimneys.[55]

Firearms manufacture brought New Haven its first fame as an industrial center, and it continued to be a vital part of the economic base in 1884. The Winchester Repeating Arms Co., the largest taxpayer in town, was strengthening its position within the industry during the 1880s by a combination of product expansion, vigorous marketing, and occasional takeovers of competitors. It was profiting handsomely in 1884 from a war in China, and it built two new buildings for the cartridge department, added another railroad track coming onto its property, and began an addition to its foundry. The Marlin Fire Arms Co. and the Strong Fire Arms Co. were also located in New Haven, and the Whitney Arms Co. was just north of the Hamden town line.[56]

The city's second largest taxpayer and its largest employer was Sargent & Co., the hardware manufacturing firm which had moved from New Britain in 1863. It had continued to grow under the dynamic leadership of Joseph B. Sargent, and in 1884 the company began to make locks and put up another large factory building. There were almost two dozen hardware manufacturers in New Haven including the Barnes Manufacturing Co., Hobart B. Ives (today a division of Leigh Products, Inc.), Mallory, Wheeler & Co., and Reynolds & Co.[57]

New Haven was a major producer of transportation equipment. The city was a national leader in the carriage trade, boasting thirty-nine manufacturers ranging from giants like Henry Hooker & Co., which employed three hundred workmen and which could afford to send a traveling salesman on a seven-month trip around the world, down to firms so small that they could have amounted to little more than ambitious blacksmith shops. There were also about forty manufacturers turning out bodies, wheels, woodwork, trimmings, and other components. C. Cowles & Co., then a specialist in carriage hardware, is now 145 years old and busy making assemblies and moldings for the automobile industry. Carriages were not selling well in 1884, and at least one firm closed down during the year. Other local transportation equipment producers included a maker of railroad track tools and a new organization which sold its first fire engines toward the end of the year.[58]

Home equipment was another important category. There were several furniture manufacturers, two companies making organs, and the A. B. Hendryx Co., the world's leading producer of bird cages. There were two clockmakers, one of them the world-famous New Haven Clock Co., which toward the end of the year finished a timepiece worth $500 and shipped it for display at the New Orleans Exposition. Ten feet tall, it played every fifteen minutes.[59]

There were three manufacturers of rubber goods, the largest by far being L. Candee & Co., whose fifteen hundred employees made waterproof footwear. The company was in an expansionist mood, announcing plans in October to add a four-story facility to its already vast factory complex.[60]

Cigar smokers had a choice of thirty-nine New Haven brands, which they could light with matches made in one of two factories in Westville, and they were able to make their purchases in any one of forty cigar stores. The original New Haven cigar manufacturer, Lewis Osterweis, had gone into business in 1860, and he always remained the leader. His veteran foreman, Frederick D. Grave, left him at the end of 1884 and founded an important rival company. The act took courage, because there had been nervousness all year about the impact of a treaty signed with Spain which removed some of the duty on imports from Cuba and Puerto Rico. Osterweis and many others feared, apparently unnecessarily, that the new arrangement would result in the best of the tobacco crop being entirely used in Cuba, allowing American producers access only to the poorer leaves.[61]

The city had an important position in several specialized food and clothing fields. There were nine breweries, and the Humiston Food Preservative Co. moved in from Boston during the year. New Haven apparently led the nation in corset production, and its nine factories generated about three thousand jobs. The best known of these firms, Mayer, Strouse & Co., was twenty-three years old in 1884, and it is still doing business today as the Strouse-Adler Co. There were also ten shirt manufacturers.[62]

A number of local firms made construction materials and miscellaneous industrial products. H. B. Bigelow & Co., which is today called the Bigelow Co., was doing so well with its boilers and steam engines that it put up two additional buildings in 1884. The three other heating equipment suppliers included the National Pipe Bending Co., which is also very much alive. Still another survivor, Henry G. Thompson & Sons, maker of saws, tool handles, and stitching machines, is now located in Branford. Other factories turned out plumbing supplies, stairs, rock crushers, paving materials, and marble and granite monuments. The McLagon Foundry is no longer in business, but its building still stands on Whitney Avenue at Audubon Street. Other firms included a sawmill, a rolling mill, two machinery manufacturers, an electroplater, a die maker, and a producer of nuts.[63]

The labor movement in New Haven can be traced back to the founding of the General Society of Mechanics in 1807, but the period of vigorous organization and expansion began during the Civil War and was still in progress in 1884. The continued growth of mass production for national markets was driving local labor leaders into increased activity and participation in the powerful national federation called the Knights of Labor. There were local unions for such groups as typesetters, locomotive engineers, stationary engineers, mechanics, and musicians, and early in December the plumbers began to organize. The Trades Council of New Haven, organized in 1881 and composed of delegates from each of the local groups, met monthly at the Trades Council Hall.[64]

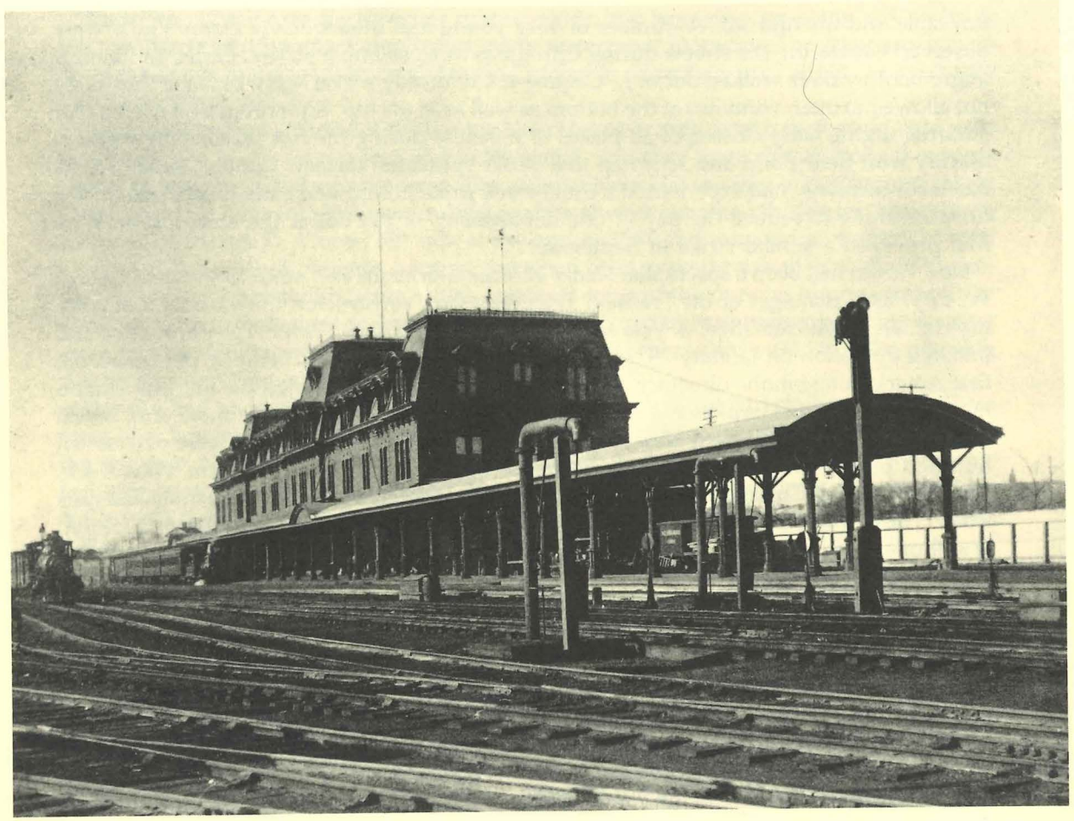
Unions did not represent all classes of workers or protect their members from less than ideal working conditions. Recently arrived immigrants worked long hours for little money in local sweatshops. Female clerks in some of New Haven's larger stores were forced to stand on their feet all day, even when not waiting on customers. State laws defining minimum ages and maximum hours for children employed in factories were largely unen-

forceable and unenforced. A number of very young and inadequately clothed girls were observed wandering the streets during Christmas week selling matches. Earlier in the year angry boot workers walked out of L. Candee & Co. during a heat wave because they were not allowed to open windows at the bottom as well as at the top. Supported by a newspaper editorial urging early closing of all places of business during the hot season, the workers quickly won their point and returned to a better ventilated factory. Candee, noted for its bad labor relations, had experienced a three-week strike in May and early June when it tried unsuccessfully to reduce the pay in one department. A pay cut at the New Haven Wire Mill provoked a similar strike in September.[65]

New Haven had been a spectacular leader in communications ever since 1877, when George W. Coy, local manager of the Franklin Telegraph Co., constructed the world's first commercial telegraph exchange. A year later he founded the New Haven Telephone Co. and initiated operation on January 28, serving twenty-two subscribers. Soon he published the first American telephone directory, and on October 1, 1880, he opened the first pay station in the United States. His pioneer firm merged in 1882 into Connecticut Telephone Co., which in 1884 became the Southern New England Telephone Co. By then there were over seven hundred phones in New Haven, more than in any other city except Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and the central exchange was handling about five thousand calls a day. The city was also served by five telegraph companies, one of which, Western Union, is still operating.[66]

Four utilities served the city. The New Haven Water Co. was organized in 1849, but thirteen years went by before it completed the dam at Whitneyville, the pump house, and the reservoir on Prospect Street near the Hamden line and began delivering water to the Nine Squares and to some other areas through seventeen miles of cast-iron pipe. In the meantime there had been considerable controversy about whether the system should be owned privately or by the municipality, an issue that was not resolved until 1854. The New Haven Gas Light Co. provided service to individuals as well as to the city, which paid it $28 per year for each of the more than fourteen hundred street lamps then in use. Its three-year-old rival, the New Haven Electric Co., was doing so well that it had to move to larger quarters in 1884, and later in the year it installed a large boiler. Major retail outlets were the original customers, but the city ordered thirty-one downtown streetlights during the year, and prosperous homeowners were beginning to consider switching from gas to electricity. The New Haven Heat Supply Co., incorporated recently and reorganized in 1884 as the New Haven Heating Co., provided steam through underground pipes, a scheme which flourished in Manhattan but never did very well anywhere else, including New Haven.[67]

One major line and several small ones made New Haven an important railroad center. The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad resulted from the consolidation in 1872 of the New York & New Haven and the Hartford & New Haven railroads and the takeover by lease of the Shore Line Railroad. The merged firm established its headquarters in 1875 in its new Union Depot on Union Avenue at the foot of Meadow and State streets, and it operated two freight depots, one at the foot of Bridge Street and the other on Long Wharf. It maintained 222 miles of track and ran twenty-one passenger trains daily each way between New Haven and New York City and six to New York on Sundays and five coming from New York. The one-way fare was $1.75. The New Haven & Derby Railroad, built be-



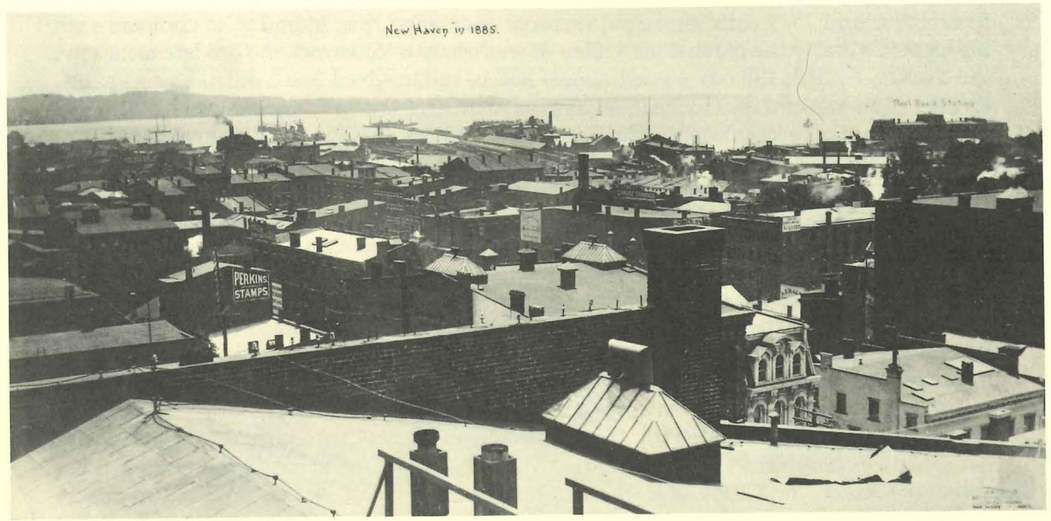
Union Station, which was located immediately north of where the present one stands.

tween 1866 and 1871 with municipal financial assistance, was intended to compete with Bridgeport's line to the Naugatuck Valley. It was costly to construct and too late to capture the market. By 1884 the city owned almost half of the troubled line's outstanding shares, and the company and the city haggled all year to no avail trying to agree on some mutually beneficial form of reorganization. The Boston & New York Air Line was also in trouble financially, and the Hartford & Harlem Railroad, then still in the planning stage, never did get built. There was one other line, the New Haven & Northampton Co., which operated between New Haven and Conway Junction, Massachusetts. Railroad construction had slowed down in the 1880s because of consolidation, but there was always some work going on, and a new iron bridge spanning James Street in Fair Haven was opened in 1884.[68]

New Haven's internal transportation facilities were fully as good as the excellent train connections to New York. The Fair Haven & Westville Railroad introduced Connecticut's first horse-drawn streetcar service in 1861, and by 1884 five companies were operating over a network of tracks fanning out from the Nine Squares into the parts of the city where most of the people lived. The pioneer route ran from the Quinnipiac River along Grand Street (now Grand Avenue), through the downtown area on State, Chapel, and York streets, and out Broadway and Whalley Avenue to Westville. The same firm's branch line started at the corner of Church and Chapel streets and ran eastward on Chapel, East, and Bridge streets to Steamboat Dock. The State Street Railroad started at the city's transportation hub, the Church and Chapel intersection, and ran along Church, Elm, and State streets to the vicinity of East Rock. The New Haven & Whitneyville Railroad originated at the same point and ran north up Church Street and Whitney Avenue to the city line. The New Haven & Centerville Railroad had its southern terminus at the corner of York Street and Broadway, and it ran from there up Broadway and Dixwell and Shelton avenues to the city line. The New Haven & West Haven Railroad's route began at the Church and Chapel intersection and progressed along Church Street and Congress, Howard, and Kimberly avenues to West Haven village and then on to Savin Rock.[69]

It has been argued convincingly that streetcars made possible the growth and physical expansion of American cities during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, and New Haven was certainly an example of the process. ''It is possible,'' an author describing the city in 1887 remarked, ''for mechanics to obtain building lots upon streets adjoining the horse railroads at the lowest rates, and to secure comfortable homes at prices ranging from $1,000 to $2,500.'' Anyone browsing through the *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1884* will find that the great majority of people could get to their places of business with relative ease. Many could walk to work, and the rest enjoyed easy access to streetcars. Anybody too fastidious to enjoy streetcars could send for one of the newfangled horse-drawn cabs or rent a coach at any one of New Haven's forty-nine livery stables.[70]

Streetcars did have some disadvantages, of course. They were dirty, they became uncomfortable in bad weather, and many riders had to stand during rush hours. A petition presented to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1884 criticized the Fair Haven & Westville Railroad for creating crowded conditions by running cars too infrequently, and it called for ''more accommodation and less greed.'' Another complaint arose from the lack of service on Sundays, and there was so much grumbling during the early months of the year that one by one the local streetcar company officials decided to compromise their puritan prin-



A view of the harbor.

ciples by introducing a limited Sabbath day schedule.[71]

Shipping remained an important part of the city's economy, and visitors to the waterfront could see a variety of steamers, barges, scows, tugs, schooners, sloops, sharpies, and other miscellaneous craft moving about in the harbor. The emphasis was on domestic commerce, but some locally owned vessels such as the schooners *James H. Woodhouse* and *N. Hand* traded to the West Indies. The prosperous New Haven Steamboat Co. hauled passengers and freight between New Haven and New York City, offering two departures a day in both directions. One of its two best-known ships, the *Continental,* had to be taken out of service temporarily after it cracked its shaft on March 20 en route to New York. Fortunately the *Elm City* was coming the other way on the run to New Haven, and it took off the *Continental's* passengers and towed the damaged side-wheeler into Bridgeport. Steam-driven vessels and towed barges were rapidly taking over the coal delivery business, but in what may have been a last spectacular gesture the schooner *Zachariah Sherman* sailed into New Haven on February 6 carrying 1,150 tons, the largest cargo of that vitally important commodity ever unloaded there.[72]

It had long been felt in New Haven that harbor improvements would produce a great increase in waterborne traffic. Earnest entreaties finally resulted in a Congressional order to the Army Corps of Engineers in 1879 to look into the possibilities, and a federal appropriation three years later permitted construction of a dike extending out from Sandy Point in West Haven. There was considerable jubilation in July 1884, when it became known that Congress had made another appropriation of $10,000 to extend the dike four hundred feet toward the south and $40,000 for a breakwater on the east side of the harbor, the work to be undertaken late in the year and completed by the middle of 1885.[73]

The sea was not without its hazards. Two New Haven-owned ships went aground in May, one at Point Judith and the other near New Bedford, and one of them was lost. Earlier in the year the schooner *Jane* stranded and sank in local waters, and four men had to be rescued from the rigging in freezing weather by volunteer crews, who were later awarded medals by the Ladies' (now called the Woman's) Seamen's Friend Society. In June a Trenton, New Jersey, schooner carrying coal was run down and sunk in the harbor by the steamer *Erastus Corning*. A huge wave swept up the harbor during the night of December 21 and sank a number of vessels.[74]

''A novel sight, in my judgment, is a multitude of oyster plantations staked out in such a manner as to show the proprietor of each particular section his exact limit or boundary.'' This quotation about New Haven from an 1886 book called *Peculiarities of American Cities* attests to the importance of the city's oyster farming. Fifty-three firms were engaged in the business in 1884, the most successful and famous of whom was Henry C. Rowe. There were thirty-nine of them in Fair Haven, seventeen at City Point, and two in the New Township. Back in the 1840s New Haven had developed the sharpie, a faster boat with greater capacity than anything previously used for oystering, and Fair Haven probably had the first oystering and shucking house.[75]

Considering New Haven's deep involvement in maritime activity, one might have expected more local construction of saltwater vessels. Only six firms were engaged in that business, four in Fair Haven and one each in the New Township and at City Point, and only two of them appear to have attempted anything more than small boats. H. H. Hanscomb's

Map from New Haven City Directory for 1884 showing the locations of the wards. (Map from the collection of Richard Hegel.)

shipyard may have been the biggest in town. Located on River Street at the foot of Ferry Street, it launched at least two schooners during 1884, one of them the *C. H. Valentine.*[76]

A city of New Haven's size and sophistication was bound to offer a wide range of consumer services, and it did in fact have retail outlets, wholesale suppliers, and professional specialists catering to all needs and pocketbooks. There were grocers, bakeries, drug and hardware stores, doctors, lawyers, and accountants, all occupational categories still found everywhere, but there were also fields of employment which have become smaller or even extinct. There were, for example, fifty-one blacksmiths, thirty-five coal and wood dealers, eleven hay and straw dealers, and one ostrich feather dealer, Clark & Co., of 818 Chapel Street. The ladies who ran Clark & Co., Mrs. Nathan S. Clark and Miss Lizzie A. McKerness, must have enjoyed remarkable sales volume, because the community also supported two firms totally engaged in the business of feather renovation. Where today can one go to get a shabby feather restored?[77]

Many of the thriving enterprises of 1884 are no longer in existence, such as John E. Bassett & Co., Connecticut's oldest hardware store, which celebrated its one hundredth birthday that year by publishing *Ye Historie of an Old Hardware Store.* Another loss is the well-remembered Edward Malley Co., the city's first department store, founded in 1852.[78]

If there have been losses, there are also inspiring survivals. Chatfield Paper Co., established in 1872 and originally at 300 State Street, is now located in North Haven. The insurance agency now known as Coan & Bunnell, Inc., was started by Charles R. Coan, who in 1884 was dividing his time between selling insurance and running a bookstore. Foskett-Bishop Piping Co. Inc., which then had places of business on Grand and State streets, is now at 27 Ferry Street. The optical firm established by Paul Roessler in 1855 is today known as Fritz & Hawley. Alonzo Hall, whose Chapel Street drugstore was fourteen years old in 1884, acquired a partner in 1909, and the firm became Hall-Benedict and moved to Orange Street. John C. Kebabian began financing his education in 1883 by selling Oriental rugs while a student at a St. Johnsbury, Vermont, boarding school. He became a Yale freshman a year later, continued selling the merchandise shipped to him from Turkey by his older brother, and later founded Kebabian's, which is now run by John P. Kebabian, the brother's grandson. William Sisk, an 1884 hackman and undertaker, developed one of his two occupations into what became Sisk Brothers Funeral Home. The Smedley Co. listed itself in 1884 as being in the freight and baggage express business. Sykes-Libby, which was selling jewelry in Worcester, Massachusetts, a century ago, relocated in New Haven about 1910.[79]

The city's thirteen banks were spread out along or within a few doors of Chapel Street between Church and Union streets. They were City Bank of New Haven, Connecticut Savings Bank of New Haven, First National Bank of New Haven, Mechanics Bank, Merchants National Bank, National New Haven Bank, National Savings Bank, National Tradesmen's Bank, New Haven County National Bank, New Haven Savings Bank, Second National Bank of New Haven, Union Trust Company, and Yale National Bank. The recent failure of the Townsend Savings Bank was still attracting attention, as the receivers attempted unsuccessfully to get approval for a private sale of the assets.[80]

All of New Haven's business endeavors received support and leadership from the Chamber of Commerce. Founded in 1794 and thus one of the nation's earliest such organizations, it gradually lost momentum, became inactive by 1852, but was revitalized some years later

by Thomas R. Trowbridge and James E. English. The Chamber had about two hundred fifty members in 1884. Some forty of them attended the nineteenth annual meeting on March 26 at which Henry G. Lewis was elected president.[81]

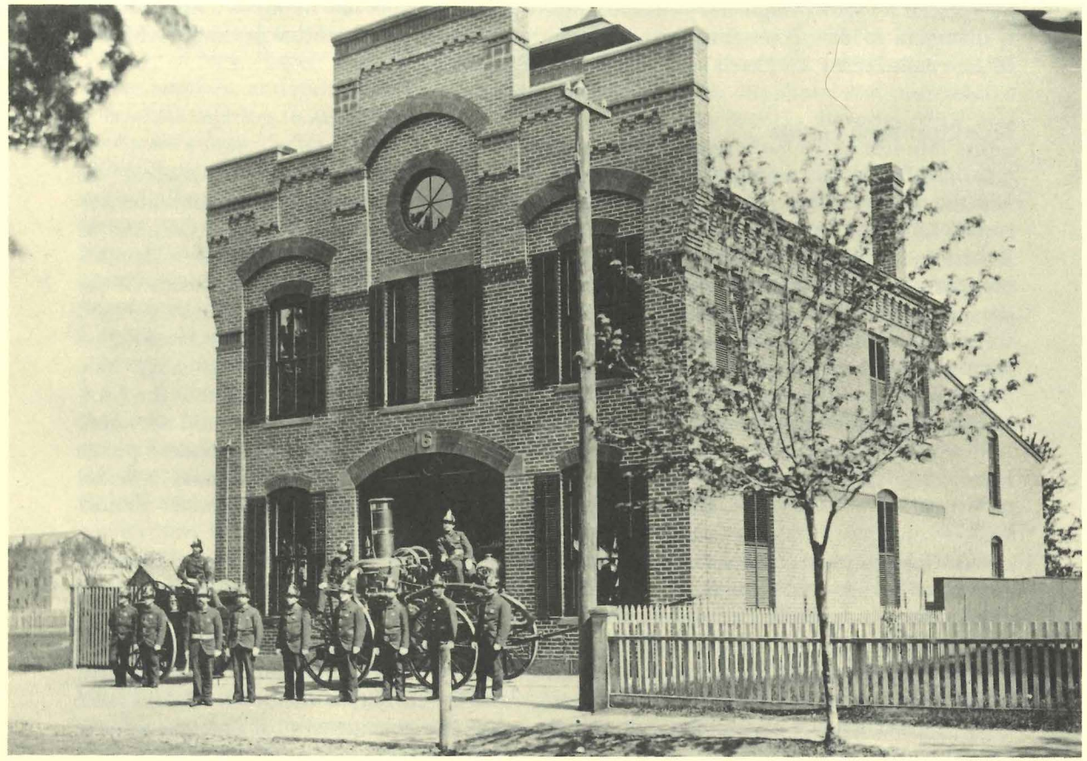
Municipal New Haven

In 1884 Henry G. Lewis, the newly elected president of the Chamber of Commerce, was also the mayor of New Haven. That he should have held those two positions simultaneously was not at all surprising. He was also president of the New Haven Wheel Co., and as Robert A. Dahl has pointed out this was the age of the entrepreneurs, when New Haven's mayors were men who had made their mark in business. Prior to 1842 the heads of the city government had been chosen from the ranks of the patrician class, and after 1899 they were what Dahl defines as ex-plebes. Lewis, a Democrat, was more than just a typical example of the late-nineteenth-century entrepreneurial type; he was also an unusually able public servant. ''This splendid mayor,'' Rollin G. Osterweis tells us, ''brought to the community many of the progressive ideas that numerous other American cities would not know until a quarter-century later—an improved municipal government structure, a modern public library, a splendid Board of Education, a reorganized Department of Public Charity, a model park system, and the inspiration of a vigorous official who believed that a leader should lead.''[82]

Associated with the mayor in administering the city were a twenty-four-man Board of Aldermen (two from each ward) and a thirty-six-man Board of Councilmen (three from each ward). Other important elected officials included the city clerk, auditor, sheriff, treasurer, and corporation counsel. The councilmen and treasurer were elected annually, while the others served two-year terms. Power was decentralized. The government was really controlled by the several commissions, and in consequence the mayor was weak. He did have some limited powers of appointment and shared in the management of financial affairs, but otherwise his authority was confined to the influence he wielded as chairman of various boards and commissions.[83]

New Haven was given its charter by act of the Connecticut legislature in 1784, making it the fifth oldest city in the United States after New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and Richmond. It had the added distinction of being the first city chartered after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The creation of the city did not do away with the township, and after 1784 the two jurisdictions existed together and overlapped one another. In July 1870, the Fair Haven peninsula, previously only a part of the town, was included within the city limits, leaving Westville as the only section exclusively under town control. In 1877 the city was divided into twelve wards with Westville identified as the Thirteenth. Four years later the town was enlarged by the area east of the Quinnipiac River and the East Shore. These neighborhoods, which had previously belonged to East Haven, became New Haven's Fourteenth and Fifteenth wards respectively and were part of the town but not of the city.[84]

Prior to 1784 the town had encompassed an area about ten by thirteen miles, and only about a tenth of it lay within the newly chartered city. A good deal of the rest of the area was divided then or thereafter into the independent towns of East Haven, North Haven,



The Division Street Fire Company in front of its station, which was on the north side of the street 175 feet west of Newhall Street.

Hamden, Woodbridge, and West Haven. Land unassigned to any other entity fell by default under the jurisdiction of New Haven's town government, which in 1884 consisted of seven selectmen, several other officeholders such as the treasurer, four committees, and several boards. The continued existence of the town was felt by many to be an anachronism, but a drive to consolidate the town and city aroused vocal opposition early in the year on the East Shore, in Fair Haven East, and particularly in Westville, where it was announced that ''we want a little more freedom than you folks in the city have.'' A legislative committee in Hartford found it expedient to dismiss the consolidation case on a technicality. In December the *Register* was urging the city to take up the cause again and work toward whatever degree of consolidation was possible.[85]

New Haven took its party politics seriously, and the Democrats, supported by most foreign-born citizens, were usually sure of winning. The 1884 presidential election brought out 15,517 voters who gave Grover Cleveland, the victorious Democratic candidate, a majority of 2,575. The party's candidate for governor got a statewide plurality but, there being four candidates, not a majority. Under the rules then in effect, the Connecticut legislature made the selection and, being Republican-controlled, gave the office to Henry B. Harrison, a lawyer who lived on Crown Street between High and College streets. Democrats swept the town and city elections on December 2. George F. Holcomb, whose carriage woodwork factory and home were in the New Township, became the mayor-elect.[86]

A six-man, unpaid Board of Police Commissioners elected by the Board of Aldermen supervised the city's peacekeeping force, which consisted of a chief of police and about one hundred men. Police headquarters were in an 1874 building on Court Street next to the rear of City Hall, and the County Jail, built in 1857, was on the north side of Whalley Avenue a block and a half east of Sherman Avenue. The force dealt during 1884 with a variety of problems, including a case of indecent exposure at the West River public bath, badly behaved and intoxicated loiterers on the Green, juvenile gangs, and gambling houses which managed to continue operating even after the aldermen banned gambling on May 22. Indignant citizens demanded stricter enforcement of Sunday laws, and the police complied by rounding up a few bootblacks and newsboys on August 24. Arrests during the year totaled 5,976, the three most frequent offenses being drunkenness (3,111), breach of the peace (1,074), and theft (293).[87]

A Board of Fire Commissioners, also six in number and elected by the Board of Aldermen, presided over the Fire Department, led by veteran and able Chief Albert C. Hendrick, a permanent force of forty-six, and eighty-five others who could be called in case of emergency. There were seven steam fire engine companies, two hook and ladder companies, and one hose company. Twenty-nine horses were kept in service. A fire-alarm telegraph system installed at eighty locations in 1868 had reduced the numbers of fires and fire losses steadily ever since then. One hundred thirty fires were reported in 1884, spread fairly evenly over the four seasons. Losses totaled only $45,321.27, all but $6,355.60 of which was covered by insurance. Department morale must have been boosted on August 26 when new badges, described by one newspaper as ''glittering,'' arrived from their manufacturer in New York.[88]

New Haven was reputed to have the lowest death rate of any seaport town of its size, and one local newspaper went so far as to call it the healthiest city in the world. There was,

nevertheless, plenty of work for the Board of Health, whose six-man membership always included three physicians. The City Health Officer was busy trying to enforce new legislation designed to get rid of privies in neighborhoods served by sewers and to drive unlicensed swine off the streets. Only a small percentage of wells could be considered completely safe. There was worry all through the summer, fall, and early winter that a cholera epidemic in southern Europe and North Africa would reach New Haven in spite of regulations prohibiting importation of goods from those areas.[89]

There were 1,369 deaths during 1884, including 197 from pulmonary consumption, 125 from infantile diarrhea, 93 from pneumonia, 33 from bronchitis, 14 from malarial fever, 6 each from whooping cough and alcoholism, and 4 from syphilis. Eleven persons committed suicide, and city officials recorded a number of accidental deaths, including mishaps in factories, suffocations caused by incompletely closed gas jets, falls down stairs and on the ice, a case of lockjaw caused by stepping on a rake, and a drowning when a boy fell off a schooner.[90]

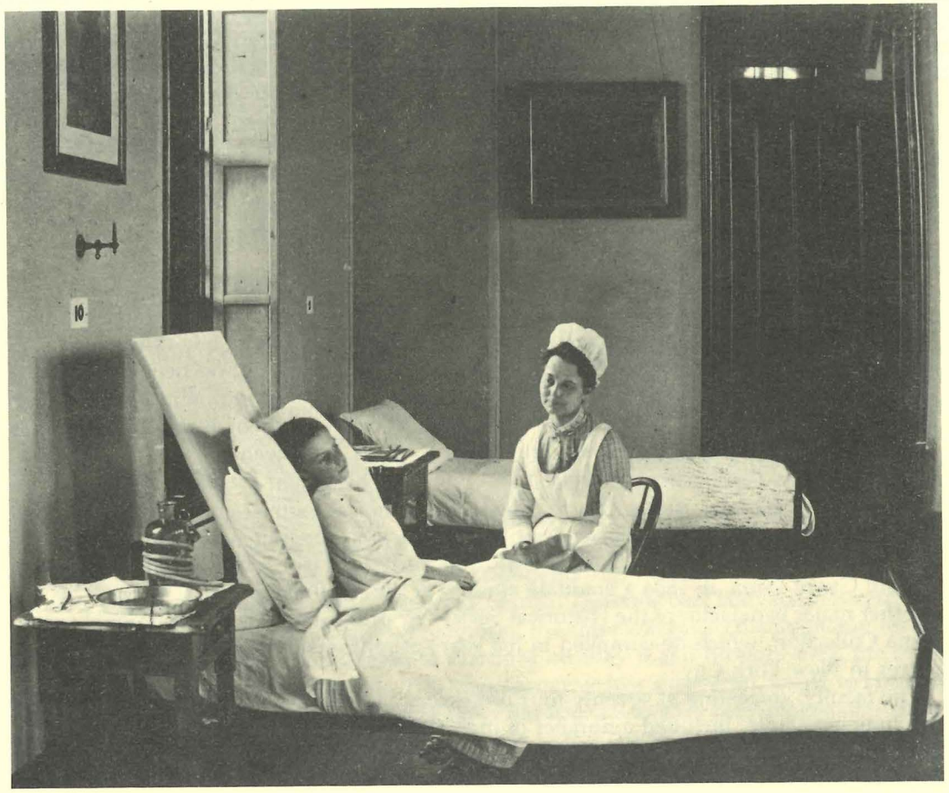
The New Haven Hospital, between Davenport and Congress avenues west of Cedar Street, was the sixth oldest such institution in the United States, having been chartered in 1826. The first building was erected seven years later, and there had been additions in 1873, 1877, and 1882. Originally called the State Hospital, it was renamed in 1884. There were also the Homeopathic Dispensary at 202 Wooster Street and the New Haven Dispensary at 146 York Street. The latter facility had been established in 1872 next to the Yale Medical School by public-spirited physicians and laymen, and it provided free treatment for the needy.[91]

Another aspect of New Haven's public health program was the sewage system, which had gone into service in 1861 and was still being expanded in 1884. By that time slightly more than forty-one miles of pipe had been laid, and almost one quarter of the existing buildings were connected to them. Thickly settled areas still dependent on cesspools and privies smelled bad all summer and were believed to suffer from a greater-than-average infant mortality rate.[92]

Intellectual New Haven

The Board of Education operated 37 schoolhouses containing 239 schoolrooms, and an average of 263 teachers, almost nine-tenths of them women, taught an average of 10,177 registered students. New Haven spent $22 per pupil per year, ranking the city third in the nation behind Boston and Cincinnati and outraging some taxpayers, who called for less "instruction of a higher and classical order" and more "common instruction." Hillhouse High School admitted 179 of the 199 candidates who took the annual entrance examination, and on April 18 it graduated 68 seniors at a ceremony at Carll's Opera House which was followed by a reception and dance at the school[93]

The city also contained a number of private educational institutions. Hopkins Grammar School, in existence since the early colonial period and noted as a place at which to prepare for Yale, was located on High Street between Wall and Grove streets. Other respected boys' schools were the Collegiate and Commercial Institute on Wooster Square where Conte School stands today, and the Yale Business College at 890 Chapel Street, which had no connection with Yale College. There were also over half a dozen girls' schools, perhaps the best known being Mrs. Cady's West End Institute on Howe Street.[94]



A patient and nurse in the New Haven Hospital.

It is impossible to discuss education in New Haven without mentioning Yale. While it tended on the local level to remain somewhat aloof, situated within its own private world, Yale's presence lent distinction to the city and greatly enhanced its reputation. During 1884 the faculty and administration were engaged in a frequently angry debate about course requirements and electives. The students were involved in two controversies of their own, making a futile attempt to have all secret societies abolished and complaining volubly about the revival after a moribund period of Phi Beta Kappa, which they also perceived as objectionably elitist even though its expressed purpose was to reward scholastic excellence. Meanwhile everyone was able to enjoy a rapidly expanding athletic program and to revel in Yale's successes on the playing field.[95]

"The one thing which distinguishes Yale beyond all other American Universities," a contemporary wrote, "is her cosmopolitan character. Students come to her from all but three states in the Union, and from thirteen foreign countries." Only about one-third of the 1,092 scholars enrolled at the start of the 1883-84 academic year were Connecticut residents. Of this total, 99 were in the Divinity School, 69 were in the Law School, and 31 were in the Medical School. The rest were in other programs, all but 30 of them at the undergraduate level. Among those undergraduates were Wilbur L. Cross, later dean of the Graduate School and governor of Connecticut; William Lyon Phelps, who taught English literature at Yale from 1892 to 1933; and Amos Alonzo Stagg, the immortal football end at Yale and coach at the University of Chicago. William Scranton Pardee, who later purchased the Morris House and left it to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, was a senior in the Law School. Arnold Guyot Dana, in 1884 a graduate student at the Sheffield Scientific School, became another major benefactor of the Historical Society by presenting it with the uniquely useful Dana Collection, which he compiled in his years of retirement after a successful business career in New York City.[96]

The faculty, consisting of seventy-four professors and thirty-seven instructors and other teaching assistants, included a number of men who were then nationally eminent or who later became famous. Illustrious humanities scholars were Henry A. Beers, professor of English literature; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Larned Professor of American History and assistant librarian; William Graham Sumner, professor of political and social science; and young Arthur Twining Hadley, then an instructor of political science. Noted scientists were James Dwight Dana, Silliman Professor of Geology and Mineralogy; his brother-in-law Benjamin Silliman, Jr., professor of chemistry; Arthur T. Wright, professor of molecular physics and chemistry; J. Willard Gibbs, professor of mathematical physics; and Othniel C. Marsh, professor of paleontology. Leading specialists in other fields included the Reverend Timothy Dwight, Jr., Buckingham Professor of Sacred Literature; John F. Wier, William Leffingwell Professor of Painting and Design; Gustave J. Stoeckel, instructor in vocal music; and Simeon E. Baldwin, professor of law, who was elected president of the New Haven Colony Historical Society in 1884. Heading the administration of Yale College were the Reverend Noah Porter, president; Franklin B. Dexter, who found time to be secretary as well as a professor and librarian; Henry C. Kingsley, treasurer; and Henry Parks Wright, who was in 1884 appointed dean of the college.[97]

The undergraduate curriculum had remained unusually conservative, and the majority of the faculty believed that it was time to move away from a completely prescribed system

of study to some experimentation with elective courses. President Noah Porter, who has been described as "a good man who was bad for Yale," was sternly opposed to all forms of change, and since 1882 he had been stubbornly resisting what he saw as an attempt to abandon fundamentals in favor of a dangerous fad. When, on May 14, 1884, the faculty approved a committee proposal to introduce some electives, Porter announced that he would vote against it at the next meeting of the Yale Corporation. He was forced into a somewhat more flexible position by a group of thoroughly aroused professors, but he resigned when the elective principle was adopted in 1885, and Yale was able to begin a period of modernization under his successor, Timothy Dwight.[98]

In previous years Yale had used Hamilton Park as its home athletic field, but on October 1, 1884, it played the first football game at its new facility, designed to accommodate various outdoor sports, which was located on the south side of Derby Avenue just beyond the West River. Under the leadership of Walter Camp, a brilliant player who after graduation became in fact if not in name the unpaid coach, Yale had emerged as the leading football power. Camp was also the most influential member of the Intercollegiate Football Association's rules committee and the author between 1880 and 1883 of the basic rules which established the game as we know it except for the forward pass, which was invented a quarter of a century later. The invaluable Walter Camp was temporarily missing in 1884, having completed medical school and gone off to New York City for what proved to be a brief career in that field. Even without him the team did splendidly, winning eight games, losing none, and tying one while piling up 491 points to its opponents' 10.[99]

Yale's athletic program was not confined to football. The crew beat Harvard in record time at New London, and the baseball team captured the intercollegiate championship for the fifth year in a row. Yale also traveled to Hartford on May 6 and brought back the intercollegiate lawn tennis championship. The track team was less successful, losing to Harvard in a meet held at the Manhattan Athletic Club. Polo appears to have been played only informally, and the Yale Yacht Club sponsored cruises to the Thimble Islands rather than races against other colleges.[100]

New Haven had a number of libraries containing close to 200,000 books and serving special readerships, but there was as yet no free library intended for the entire population. Yale's several collections totaled a bit over 160,000 volumes, and there were over 10,000 at the Young Men's Institute, founded in 1826 as a subscription library but functioning by this time as something fairly close to a public institution. Smaller libraries were operated by the New Haven Colony Historical Society, the New Haven County Bar Association, Hillhouse High School, Elderage School, the American Oriental Society, and the New Haven Orphan Asylum. L. B. Bartholomew ran a commercial circulating library, and visitors to English Hall who did not want to play checkers could read any of its three hundred books. Money had been left in 1869 for the purchase of books for the Young Men's Institute "or any public library which may from time to time exist in said city." Mayor Henry G. Lewis had recognized since 1880 that this was a strong argument for the establishment of a New Haven Free Public Library, and in 1884 he appointed a committee of thirteen prominent citizens to carry out the project by raising $100,000 by subscription. Unfortunately the economic climate was so unfavorable that these eminent gentlemen could get pledges for only $5,535, so Lewis's dream was not realized until 1887.[101]

The written word was produced and distributed in New Haven as well as consumed in its libraries. There were twenty-one newspapers of varying descriptions and frequency of publication, many of which made extravagant circulation claims. The leader clearly seems to have been the *New Haven Register,* founded in 1812 and a supporter of the Democratic Party, which moved late in July 1884 into its newly erected four-story brick building on Crown Street between Orange and Church streets and did it without missing a single issue. Other major papers were the *New Haven Morning Palladium* and the *New Haven Morning Journal and Courier,* the latter founded in 1755 and thus the oldest daily in the state. The two-year-old *Morning News,* calling itself the ''youngest, but the best,'' was growing fast thanks partly to emphasis on street sales, and it turned out an edition of over sixteen thousand copies on November 5, 1884, an unprecedented figure for New Haven. There were five local book publishers, the big ones being Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor and Wilson H. Lee, and sixteen booksellers and stationers. New Haven even had its own best-selling author. Donald G. Mitchell, who did so much to beautify the city, enjoyed a national reputation writing under the pseudonym of Ik Marvel.[102]

Social New Haven

New Haven's social elite was the product of a long evolutionary process. The original settlers arrived in 1638 conditioned to a hierarchical social system characterized by inequalities in status, and by 1700 the so-called Standing Order had become hereditary. The unwelcome newcomers to New Haven who participated in the economic expansion after 1750 were scorned as Interlopers, but their success could not be ignored, and after a generation they were grudgingly accepted into the inner circle. The established set ruled politically as well as socially until they were overthrown locally and throughout Connecticut in 1818 when the new state constitution was adopted. The oligarchical families declined gradually thereafter in absolute power. The city long retained a four-layer social structure, however, dominated by ''The Quality,'' who lorded it over ''the better sort,'' ''the middle sort,'' and ''the lower sort.'' The Quality consisted of forty to fifty families, most of them descendants of early settlers, many of them merchant shippers or land speculators. Some Episcopalians were mixed in with many Congregationalists. There was much intermarriage, and the men tended to be Yale graduates. As industrialization and immigration transformed New Haven after 1820, the heads of these families found new ways to stay on top of the economic heap, going into manufacturing, transportation, and banking. By 1884 this group could no longer expect to rule politically, but it retained special status based on early New England heritage and long-sustained prosperity. By then some of its members had become examples of the new conspicuous consumption which Thorstein Veblen later analyzed and pilloried in *The Theory of the Leisure Class.*[103]

By 1884, of course, the recognized social leadership of New Haven consisted of a great deal more than just the few traditional families. There were recently risen entrepreneurs, distinguished scholars who taught at Yale, representatives of the other professional worlds, and all of their families. This elite was totally visible, but it was also perceived as totally stolid and uninteresting. ''Society circles have never been as dull as they are now,'' a well known but unidentified observer reported to the press on November 16. By December 28

another ''social gentleman'' looked ahead and deplored that there would be fewer New Year's Eve calls than in the past. ''The custom,'' he declared, ''seems to be gradually dying out.'' The elegant set did, of course, have its regular activities. ''Representatives of the best social circles of New Haven'' skated on Lake Whitney in winter and toward the end of July made their annual exodus to the shore and to inland resorts. The male members of this set could repair in season to the Quinnipiac Club, while their ladies, or at least the most fortunate of them, were able periodically to attend meetings of the now-extinct Our Society.[104]

The New Haven Lawn Club lists itself as having been founded in 1891, but several 1884 articles in the *Register* suggest strongly that something was going on then which has somehow been forgotten in the intervening years. On September 25 it was reported that ''prominent New Haven lovers of lawn tennis'' and similar games were planning to open elaborate courts and archery and croquet grounds on Whitney Avenue that fall. The new association, readers were told, had secured the use of a large tract of land owned by Colonel Frank Fellows just above Sachem Street. This new organization would be called the New Haven Outdoors Club or possibly the New Haven Lawn Club. Less than two weeks later the paper noted that ''the grounds of the New Haven Lawn Tennis Club is quite a meeting place for society people who wield the racquet.'' By late October the club was said to have held its first tournament.[105]

Ten banks advertised in the *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1884,* and all but one of them listed their directors. The pool of seventy-two names may be considered the quintessential sample of the city's economic elite, and it will therefore be of some interest to determine who these men were and how they made their livings. With the exception of one Jew, every one of the bank directors was apparently of Yankee stock, and many had such locally familiar names as English, Hemingway, Hotchkiss, and Trowbridge. There are no street addresses or occupations given for eight of the men, either because they lived out of town or because they were omitted by mistake. Of the other sixty-four, fifty-seven were employed and the other seven were either retired or were men of leisure. Eight men were exclusively bank officers, one was an investment banker and stockbroker, and five were full-time lawyers. Eleven bank directors were manufacturers, twelve were wholesalers, six were retailers, and one was a construction contractor. Five men were in the shipping trade, one of whom was also president of the New Haven Gas Light Co. The presidents of the New Haven Water Co. and the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co. were bank directors, and the latter was also a lawyer. Yale's treasurer and one of its professors served on bank boards, as did a congressman and two employed men whose means of livelihood cannot be determined. The most unlikely member of this august fellowship was a man who was employed as a foreman for a carpentry contracting firm. What was there that made a bank seek out his services as a director? Are we left with the theory that he had perhaps married money?[106]

Of the sixty-four bank directors whose places of residence are known, twenty-one lived in the Nine Squares, nine of them on or north of Elm Street, two east of the Green, and the other ten on or south of Chapel Street. The great majority lived an average of six blocks from their offices. The exceptions were three shipping merchants on Long Wharf, a lumber dealer near it, and the president of L. Candee & Co., a manufacturing firm in the New

A New Haven & Centerville streetcar loading at the Green.

Township. Happily all of them could commute quite comfortably by streetcar.[107]

Another seventeen bank directors lived west of the Nine Squares, more than half of them so far from their offices that they could not have walked to work. All of them, however, lived within two or three blocks of either Chapel Street or Whalley Avenue, both of which had streetcar lines.[108]

The residences of fourteen bank directors were in wards north of the Nine Squares, ten of them being on or immediately adjacent to Orange Street, which may be perceived as the Entrepreneurs' Row of its period. Only two directors lived on Yale-dominated Hillhouse Avenue, and one of those was the college's treasurer. Most of these men could commute on foot, and streetcars on Whitney Avenue and State Street served those who could not.[109]

The other twelve bank directors lived in wards east of the Nine Squares, ten in the New Township and two in distant Fair Haven Heights. Seven of the New Township residents were clustered around Wooster Square, and all of them lived very close to their work. One of the exurbanites beyond the Quinnipiac River owned a store a block and a half from his home, and the other commuted by streetcar westward into the New Township.[110]

If bank directors can be seen as a coherent sample of the business elite, it may be suggested with equal logic that Yale's forty-nine full professors with known addresses constitute valid representatives of the local intellectual elite. They were all, of course, males, and they all had Yankee-sounding names except for one with a Germanic surname. What they had in common more than Anglo-Saxon blood was propinquity to the campus. Not one lived more than nine blocks away, and on the average they had to walk only three or four blocks from home to office or classroom. Twenty-one lived in the Nine Squares, two-thirds of them on or north of Elm Street, and four lived just west of there. The other twenty-four resided in wards north of the Nine Squares in a pattern quite different from that of the bank directors. Whereas the entrepreneurs tended to string themselves out along Orange Street, the academics were fairly evenly divided between Prospect Hill and the Orange Street neighborhood, and not a single one of them lived on Orange Street itself. Instead, almost half of them were on two intersecting streets, six on Hillhouse Avenue and another six on Trumbull Street. Were all these residential decisions simply a series of coincidences, or may we suspect that there was a certain coolness between the intelligentsia and the men of affairs?[111]

No equally comprehensive survey of nonelite elements in the population is practical, but we did make a random sampling of sixty employees whose work and home addresses are available, picking one from every seventh page in the *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1884*. One might expect a preponderance of newcomers to America, but only about one-third had positively or probably non-Anglo-Saxon surnames, those being mostly Irish and German. There were twenty-six industrial workers, thirteen salesmen and clerks, ten tradesmen and technicians, four drivers, teamsters, and coachmen, four service workers consisting of two porters, one cook, and a bartender, and three bookkeepers. The most interesting thing about their geographic distribution is that not one person lived in the Nine Squares, that neighborhood being so expensive that only the wealthy could share it with commercial and educational uses. It is also noteworthy that easy commuting was not the exclusive privilege of the elite. Many of this sample of sixty workers lived very close to their employment, and the rest were not very far from a streetcar line. The fact is that transporta-

tion within New Haven was convenient for everybody in most neighborhoods and for people at all economic levels.[112]

Immigration to New Haven on any large scale was a fairly recent phenomenon. There were only 142 people of foreign birth in 1801, when the total population was about 4,000, and very few more came prior to 1830. Irish and Germans began arriving after 1850, until by 1870 28 percent of the residents had been born outside the United States. That proportion remained almost constant for three decades, but after 1880 most of the newcomers were from Italy and Eastern Europe. The descendants of the early settlers betrayed a certain ambivalence about these changes. A local politician boasted in 1884 about the "perfect harmony" existing among all elements in the population, and a Fourth of July orator became absolutely rhapsodic describing them. "These aliens," he told his audience, "have built up our industries, have developed our agriculture, have constructed our railroads, have made us what we are. And we have welcomed them and made them our brethren and our fellow citizens, and they are no more aliens among us. . . .Now they are with us and of us." That same year, however, Connecticut adopted a constitutional amendment limiting citizenship to people who could read English as well as speak it.[113]

The Irish were New Haven's largest ethnic group. They had settled initially in the Hill area, but later many left as the Italian invasion began. Analysis of 721 obviously Irish names listed in the *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1884* suggests that only about three-tenths of them remained in their original neighborhood and that over half of the total were by then clustered along both banks of the Mill River in the New Township and Fair Haven. Geographical movement was not always evidence of increasing prosperity. Discovery of two cases of scarlet fever in May of 1884, for example, revealed that seventeen people including eight children had been occupying Michael McGinty's three rooms at 221 Wallace Street. The majority of New Haven's Irishmen may have been poor, but they still managed to send back about $100,000 a year to relatives in their homeland.[114]

Germans began pouring into this country in 1846, and by 1854 there were 900,000 here, making them the largest ethnic component in our national population. They went primarily to the Middle West, but some settled in New Haven, and there were 10,000 here in 1884. Like the Irish, they lived first in the Hill district but had tended to resettle later toward the east. Free evening English classes given at the German-English School, 285 Wooster Street, attested to their desire to become Americanized, but they were also anxious to retain their cultural heritage. There were between fifty and sixty German societies in town, and two German-language newspapers, the Connecticut *Republikaner* and the New England *Anzeiger*, were published locally. One German culinary specialty, the frankfurter, had become a favorite with New Haveners of all national backgrounds.[115]

Italians began arriving in New Haven and settling in the Oak Street neighborhood as early as 1869, many of them coming up from New York City to work on railroad construction projects. By 1880 there were approximately 500 in the city, and they continued to arrive at a brisk rate thereafter. Having come from rural areas, they had a hard time adjusting to urban life and to employment that required some understanding of technology, and they experienced hostility, being seen as unfair competitors for jobs because of their low standard of living. Initially they were accepted only by the most marginal industries on a last-hired, first-fired basis, but before long they were being hired by rubber and hardware factories, and in 1882 Sargent & Co. began recruiting in Italy.

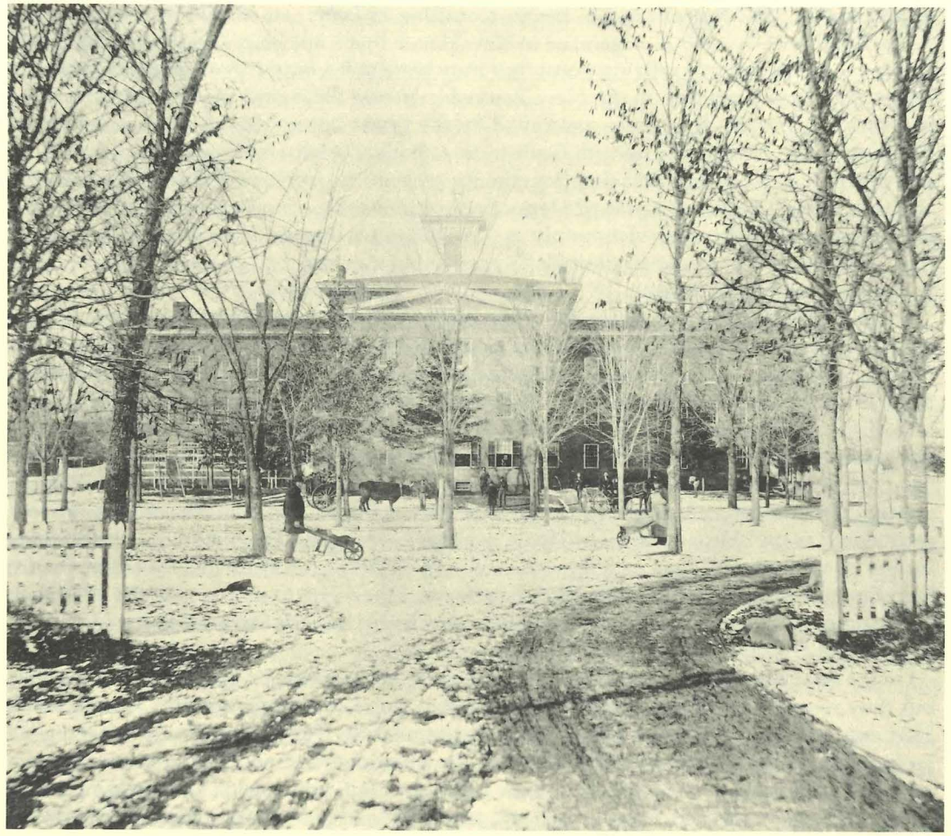
The Knights of Columbus, organized in New Haven that same year, gave Italian-Americans a cultural and emotional rallying point, but they were still a long way from full acceptance. When they began moving to the New Township in the 1880s and tried to attend mass at St. Patrick's Church, they were welcomed by the priest but not by his Irish parishioners. The *New Haven Register* found it difficult to treat Italians with any dignity. It presumed in a February 5, 1884, article that their tenements were more overcrowded and diseased than anybody else's. On June 3 it praised Henry Sargent for saving a man's life by artificial respiration but identified the near-victim only as "an Italian workman." On December 8 it noted that "the usual array of petty criminals" in court that morning had contained "an unusually large sprinkling of Italians."[116]

There had been German Jews in New Haven for a generation, and by 1884 some of them were very well established, examples being Lewis Osterweis, the cigar manufacturer, Isaac Strouse and Max Adler, the corset manufacturers, and Bernard Shoninger, who owned a flourishing piano and organ factory. This community worshipped together at Congregation Mishkan Israel, and in 1856 it founded New Haven's first nonreligious Jewish organization, Horeb Lodge of B'nai B'rith, whose purposes were to stimulate Americanization and promote philanthropy. Until 1880 its meetings were conducted in German. About that time immigration of Eastern European Jews to New Haven began. A committee of German Jews went down to the railroad station in 1881 to welcome a group and found them so unprepared for life in this country that a Hebrew Benevolent Society was immediately established to help them overcome their poverty and the effects of their ghetto upbringing. By 1884 there were somewhat over 400 Russian and Polish Jews living on Oak Street or in the blocks surrounding it.[117]

Unlike European immigrants, black people had lived in New Haven since colonial times, but they remained a statistically negligible factor. There were only about 2,300 of them in 1884, representing a little over 3 percent of the population. They lived mostly in segregated sections or among very poor whites. Two of the three churches which can be identified as serving blacks were in the Dixwell Avenue neighborhood, which became increasingly their residential center. Barred from voting and forced to live apart, they developed their own social and religious customs. There were several black Masonic lodges, and a black military organization marched in the Centennial parade in 1884.[118]

An urban area as large and diverse as New Haven was bound to require a range of social services, and a few of them were in 1884 provided by the public sector. The Almshouse, built in 1852 and run by the town, was located at the end of Martin Street (now part of Edgewood Avenue) near the West River in what is now the northwest corner of Edgewood Park. The number of people cared for fluctuated according to the season, because many unfortunates able to support themselves in summer were unable to do so in winter, and they went to the Almshouse until, as a newspaper article put it, "the birds begin to sing." A supplementary facility, the New Town Farm at the end of Wintergreen Avenue near West Rock, was being planned, and it may by this time have been in partial use. It was recognized that New Haven also needed an insane asylum.[119]

There were also a number of private charities. The New Haven Orphan Asylum, chartered in 1833, cared for Protestant children, and its Catholic counterpart was St. Francis Orphan



The Almshouse.

Asylum. Because the hard times made it unusually difficult for them to obtain donations, a town meeting in December voted a $2,000 subsidy to each. Other homeless people were cared for by the Home for Aged and Destitute Women and the Home for the Friendless. The local Young Men's Christian Association had been in operation since 1866, and in 1880 New Haveners organized one of the nation's earliest chapters of the Young Women's Christian Association, which in 1882 purchased quarters at 568 Chapel Street. The Ladies' Seamen's Friend Society (now the Woman's Seamen's Friend Society), organized in 1859, was the first permanent institution of its type in Connecticut and the second in New England. It emerged from a moribund period in 1879 when Samuel Thrasher was hired as missionary and superintendent, and a suitable building was erected a year later on Water Street at the foot of Franklin Street. Other active and useful charities included the New Haven Aid Society, which gave financial assistance to 331 families during 1884; the Hebrew Benevolent Society, mentioned previously, which later became the Jewish Family Service; the Boy's Club, then in its third year, which occupied part of the basement of the Statehouse; and the City Mission Fresh Air Fund.[120]

The Salvation Army was widely regarded as a nuisance, and it spent all of 1884 in altercation with the municipal authorities. The trouble had begun the previous December when Captain Dinah Johnson, the chief Army officer in New Haven, defied the mayor's order forbidding her from creating what was felt to be a disturbance by parading in the streets. When she and her followers were given summonses, she sued for false arrest. She lost her case in March but was back in the streets marching and drumming on August 7, and again she was arrested. Her followers held a rally on the Statehouse steps three days later hoping to generate sympathy, but instead they found themselves surrounded by a hostile crowd of two thousand, and they were almost mobbed on their way back to the Salvation Army Hall. By then the *Register* was hinting at some sort of corruption on the part of Miss Johnson and one of her assistants, and on August 13 they were expelled abruptly and without public explanation by the state commander. The Salvation Army was back in the newspapers a month later when A. J. Hart, one of its new recruits, was arrested for stealing a drum. Five members were arrested two days before Christmas for playing their musical instruments on the street. They tried another parade on December 28 and were assaulted on the Green with snowballs thrown by about one hundred boys. The police had been notified that there might be trouble, but they declined to intervene, and the marchers had to retreat hastily to their barracks.[121]

New Haven at Play

New Haveners worked hard, but they also enjoyed recreation and the celebration of holidays. Leisure-time facilities included a gymnasium, roller skating rinks, ice skating in season on Lake Whitney and at West River, horse racing at Hamilton Park, occasional theater, and at least three visits during the year by circuses. There were also 16 billiard halls and 337 saloons. St. Valentine's Day exhausted the local postmen, who had to deliver 6,500 cards. George Washington's Birthday was ''quietly observed,'' causing some feeling that more should have been done. Nobody complained about St. Patrick's Day; a school holiday was declared so that children could attend the parade. Flags were at half-mast on Memorial Day,

The New Haven Yacht Club.

many stores closed in the afternoon, and a parade featuring the entire police force was followed by a memorial service in the evening. There was a Christmas Eve party at the Union Armory, and hundreds of people drove their sleighs on the Boulevard the next day. There were Christmas chicken dinners at the hospital, the Almshouse, and the jail. There was also a Christmas party at the Ladies' Seamen's Friend Society, but there is no record of what was on the menu.[122]

Three novel sports for the affluent were yachting, bicycling, and dog breeding. Local sailing enthusiasts organized the New Haven Yacht Club in 1881, modeling it on the only older one in the country, the New York Yacht Club, and it had made remarkable progress. The two hundred or so members had club rooms in town and a new three-story clubhouse on the New Township waterfront, painted olive and green with red gables. Bicycles cost the substantial sum of about $140, but approximately five hundred of them were in use in New Haven. The New Haven Bicycle Club, Rambler's Bicycle Club, a group at Yale, and other similar organizations arranged tournaments and race meetings, many of which were held at Hamilton Park. Some men had started riding their bikes to work, and the local ordinance against their use on sidewalks was not enforced. ''Canine fever'' had hit New Haven, and the *Register* reported that the ''remarkable mania for buying fine dogs continues to increase,'' with black cocker spaniels the particular fad of the moment. About twenty dog fanciers founded the New Haven Kennel Club on January 16 and ran a three-day show at the Union Armory in mid-March which attracted 385 entries, making it the largest such event ever in the United States except for the Westminster shows in New York.[123]

This was perhaps the peak period for secret fraternal organizations, ninety-five then existing in New Haven. There were nineteen Masonic lodges, an equal number of lodges of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, eight of the Order of Foresters, and seven of the Knights of Pythias. The Benevolent and Patriotic Order of Elks organized its first New Haven lodge in 1884, making it the fourth in New England. There were also clubs for ethnic groups. The Knights of Columbus, founded in New Haven in 1882 and destined for national greatness, was just getting started. It attracted Catholics, was to some extent a fraternal club, and it offered life insurance to its members. It had been organized largely by Father Michael J. McGivney of St. Mary's, who left there late in 1884 to become the pastor in Thomaston, Connecticut. By then there were twelve Knights of Columbus councils.[124]

Other men got satisfaction out of membership in military organizations. The local units were the Second Company of the Governor's Horse Guard, the Second Company of the Governor's Foot Guard, and the Second Regiment of the Connecticut National Guard. The regiment was based at the Connecticut National Guard Armory, usually called the Union Armory, which stood on the triangular block bounded by Whiting, George, and Meadow streets. The Grand Army of the Republic had two posts in New Haven and a women's auxiliary unit. The Sons of Veterans were organized in 1884, and black veterans were talking about forming their own G.A.R. post.[125]

Perhaps New Haven's most important recreational asset was its 384.44 acres of public parks. The newest and by far the most exciting unit in that system was 352.88-acre East Rock Park, established in 1880 and designed in 1882 by Donald Grant Mitchell. By 1884 construction was well under way, and funds for roads had been given by Henry Farnam and James English. In response to public demand for a restaurant at the summit, an existing

building was adapted to the purpose and rented for the season to R. F. Esko for $100. The service he provided during the warm-weather months seemed to give general satisfaction. After much nagging by the *Register,* Sunday horse car service was inaugurated, greatly assisting access to the park, which attracted an average of one thousand visitors a day Mondays through Saturdays and four or five times that number on the seventh day of the week. A committee was studying competitive plans submitted for the Soldiers Monument, which was built and dedicated in 1887.[126]

The Centennial Celebration

There was increasing interest in history in this period, and the American Historical Association was founded in 1884. Charles H. Levermore, who was then in the middle of writing *The Republic of New Haven,* attended the organization meeting in Saratoga, New York, and on September 10 read a paper on "The Founders of New Haven," in which he argued that John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton stamped their individuality upon the future city.[127]

The New Haven Colony Historical Society also had a scholarly interest in the city's past. Founded in 1862, it had by this time close to two hundred members, and it was housed in two rooms at the Statehouse. One serious and able historian replaced another as president when E. Edwards Beardsley was succeeded by Simeon E. Baldwin, and the board included several other distinguished researchers and authors, notably Edward E. Atwater, John Warner Barber, Franklin B. Dexter, and Charles H. Townsend.[128]

These thoughtful gentlemen realized that legislative action in Hartford in January 1784 had given New Haven the fifth city charter issued in this country. Some appropriate recognition of the centennial seemed indicated, and so at the January 21, 1884, meeting of the Society Professor Dexter delivered his now-famous address, "New Haven in 1784."[129]

The speech appears to have surprised the city government, which was either unaware of the impending event or totally indifferent to it. Not everyone was oblivious, however, because the morning after Dexter's graceful contribution to local history an envelope addressed "To the City of New Haven" was delivered by a postman to the mayor's office. Enclosed was a birthday card bearing a picture of apple blossoms and containing the following message: "In remembrance of your birthday. Wishing you all happiness in years to come. From a stranger passing through." As the *Register* remarked, "someone remembered."[130]

By the time New Haven discovered that its city government was one hundred years old the logical moment for celebration had passed, but Mayor Lewis recognized that something had to be attempted, and in his annual address on January 9 he called for a modest but appropriate observance. A committee was formed which on May 8 concluded that the Fourth of July was if not a logical date at least a convenient one, and it busied itself thereafter making plans, adding to its membership in the hope of satisfying all constituencies, and scrambling about rather desperately trying to get together the money with which to pay for the extravaganza.[131]

Nothing came easily, particularly the money, but when the time arrived New Haven blew itself to as splashy a parade as anyone could remember. There were flags and bunting everywhere on houses and places of business, and on the evening of July 3 there was a concert on the Green complete with fireworks and illuminations. The next morning at dawn a hundred guns were shot off from the base of East Rock. At 11:05 a.m. politicians, the

1784. JULY 3d and 4th. 1884.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE

CITY OF NEW HAVEN,

Under the Direction of the Joint Special Committees of the

COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL, MILITARY AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS AND CITIZENS,

In Commemoration of the Organization of the City in 1784.

PROGRAMME.

EVENING OF JULY 3d,

Illumination and Concert by the 2d Regiment American Band on the Public Square.

JULY 4th

AT SUNRISE. Ringing of Bells for One Hour, and Firing of One Hundred Guns; Fifty from Summit of East Rock and Fifty from Summit of Beacon Hill, alternately.

AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M. Reception of His Excellency, Gov. Waller and Staff at the New Haven House, and His Honor, Mayor Lewis and invited guests at the City Hall, by the Second Companies of Governor's Foot and Horse Guards and Veteran Grays.

AT 11 O'CLOCK A. M. Grand Military and Civic Parade—Eight Divisions.

AT 1 O'CLOCK P. M. The procession will be reviewed by the Governor and Staff, His Honor, Moyor Lewis, the Mayors of the other Cities of the State, Invited Guests and the Court of Common Council of New Haven, from a Grand Stand erected in front of the City Hall.

AT 2.30 O'CLOCK P. M. Day Fire Works on the Public Square.

AT 4 O'CLOCK P. M. Historical Oration by Rev. Thomas R. Bacon; Singing by Children of the Public Schools, and other exercises at Center Church.

AT SUNSET. Ringing of Bells and a Salute of Thirty-Eight Guns.

AT 8 O'CLOCK P. M. Grand Illumination by Electric Lights and Chinese Lanterns. Fire Works, and Concert by the 2d Regiment American Band, on the Public Square.

Stafford Print.

National Guard, the G.A.F., civic societies, volunteer firemen and the New Haven fire department, and assorted tradesmen started off on a march around town that went on for two and a half hours. There was a ceremony on the Green at four o'clock followed by a service in Center Church featuring the Reverend Thomas R. Bacon's historical oration. By then it was raining, and the scheduled evening fireworks had to be put off until July 9.[132]

A charming feature of the procession was the *Constitution,* which was carried on the shoulders of ''six stalwart seamen.'' This large ship model had been found floating in the English Channel in 1768 by a New Haven vessel, the *Lark.* It had been brought home and had since then been paraded through the streets when there were important events to celebrate, such as the ratification of the Constitution in 1788 (when the model got its name) and the town's bicentennial in 1838. The relic had by 1884 become the property of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, which arranged to have it used again on July 4.[133]

The events of that day appear to have been a lot of fun, but combining the city's birthday with Independence Day made only a limited amount of sense. The 1984 celebration has been a lot more thoughtfully planned, by the city and the New Haven Colony Historical Society working together, and it will be a more appropriate if less noisy recognition of the passage of another century in the life of the city. A central event paying deliberate tribute to the past will be the January 19 meeting at the Society at which there will be a talk echoing Dexter's, called ''New Haven in 1884'' and based on this article. As visitors enter 114 Whitney Avenue and head for the stairs leading to the auditorium, they will come to a big glass case. In that case will be the ship model *Constitution,* used previously on particularly memorable days and used once again to mark the bicentennial of the City of New Haven.

Typescript by Florence C. Fischer

NOTES

1. Henry Howe, *An Outline History of New Haven* (New Haven, 1884), p. 32; *City Year Book for the City of New Haven for 1884* (New Haven, 1885), pp. 144, 235; *The Connecticut Register and Manual: A State Calendar of Public Officers and Institutions for 1884* (Hartford, 1884), pp. 200-01; *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1884* (New Haven, 1884), pp. 485-86; Ainsworth R. Spofford, ed., *American Almanac and Treasury of Facts, Statistical, Financial and Political, for the Year 1885* (New York, 1885), p. 48; *New Haven Register,* July 7, 1884, p. 3, and Sept. 7, 1884, p. 1; *Leading Business Men of New Haven County* (Boston, 1887), p. 45.

2. Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design* (New Haven, 1976), pp. 11-15.

3. Ibid., pp. 4-8.

4. *New Haven City Directory for 1884* contains a map showing where all the wards were.

5. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 186-87, 333-48; Rollin G. Osterweis, *The New Haven Green and the American Bicentennial* (Hamden, 1975), p. 65; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* p. 524.

6. Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* pp. 271, 338; *New Haven Register,* Apr. 9, 1884, p. 2; Apr. 13, 1884, p. 2; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* p. 507; Stephen Dibble, ''New Haven Colony Historical Society: 1862-1980,'' *New Haven Colony Historical Society Journal* (Fall, 1980), p. 9; *Leading Business Men of New Haven County,* p. 67.

7. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 107-08; Edward J. Getlein, *Here Will I Dwell* (New Haven, 1976), p. 124; *New Haven Register,* Feb. 21, 1884, p. 2; Apr. 2, p. 2; Aug. 5, p. 2; Aug. 28, p. 3; Sept. 2, p. 3; Sept. 15, p. 4; Sept. 18, p. 1; Sept. 19, p. 4; Sept. 20, p. 1; Sept. 21, p. 2; Oct. 7, p. 3; Oct. 14, p. 2; Oct. 18, pp. 2-3; Edward Ware Sinnott, *The Meeting-House of the First Church of Christ in New Haven, Connecticut: Center Church, 1814-1960* (New Haven, 1960), p. 13; Edward E. Atwater, *History of the City of New Haven* (New York, 1887), pp. 127-28.

8. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 69, 104, 110, 115; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 503, 506-07, 514.

9. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* p. 113; *New Haven Register,* Mar. 27, 1884, p. 4; Aug. 6, p. 1; Aug. 26, p. 4; Atwater, *City of New Haven,* pp. 238-39; Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* pp. 336-37; Carroll Alton Means, *The New Haven Provisional Envelope* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 32-36.

10. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 65, 112, 117; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 438, 448, 450, 469, 473-75, 482, 537-41.

11. Albert F. Hausman, ''Origin and Development of the New Haven Free Public Library, 1886-1911,'' (M.A. thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1968), pp. 67, 69; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 195, 201, 435.

12. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* p. 66; Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* p. 347; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* p. 506; Crawford Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

13. *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 171, 506; *New Haven City Directory for the Year 1885* (New Haven, 1885), pp. 72, 745.

14. *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 470-71, 709, 749; *Leading Business Men of New Haven County,* pp. 83, 99, 126, 127; Thomas J. Farnham, Mary Davis Farnham, and Sheldon J. Watts, *New Haven: The Making of the Modern City* (New Haven, 1976), p. 37; Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* p. 315.

15. *New Haven City Directory for 1884.* p. 715; George D. Vaill, *Mory's: A Brief History* (n.p., 1977), pp. 4-7.

16. *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 441-42; Robert A. Griffin, *Thorstein Veblen: Seer of American Socialism* (Hamden, 1982), pp. i-ii, 1.

17. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 66, 122; *Buildings and Grounds of Yale University* (New Haven, 1979), pp. 66, 70, 82, 88, 95, 104; Reuben A. Holden, *Yale: A Pictorial History* (New Haven, 1967), plates 36, 52, 55, 70; Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven, 1974), p. 271.

18. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 124, 131, 139; *Buildings and Grounds of Yale,* pp. 64, 68, 83, 87, 88; *The Buildings of Yale University* (New Haven, 1965), p. 29; Holden, *Yale,* plates 87, 96, 100, 110.

19. *New Haven Register,* Apr. 22, 1884, p. 2; Holden, *Yale,* plate 60; *Buildings of Yale,* pp. 23, 24, 35, 38.

20. *Geer's Hartford City Directory and Hartford Illustrated: July 1, 1884* (Hartford, 1884), p. 425; Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* p. 315; Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 100-18.

21. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 14, 180, 184; *Geer's Hartford City Directory,* p. 425; *New Haven Register,* Aug. 3, 1884, p. 1; Frances Bishop Barney, *History of St. Paul's Parish, New Haven, 1830-1930* (New Haven, n.d.), p. 24.

22. Brown, *New Haven: A Guide,* pp. 181, 187, 189; *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 301, 470-71, 501-07, 708; *Leading Business Men of New Haven County,* p. 68; Osterweis, *Three Centuries,* p. 347.

23. *New Haven City Directory for 1884,* pp. 94, 237, 263, 364, 435, 511; *New Haven Register,* Apr. 12, 1884, p. 1.

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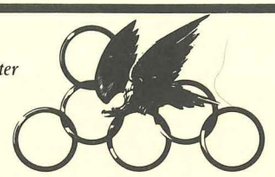

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